

METROPOLIS AND URBAN FORM
The American Northeastern Cities: A Reference to Metropolitan Barcelona

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PREFACE

This paper contains a preliminary report of my research at the Institute for Policy Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, during the spring semester of 1987. (*) As I also taught a course in Urban Planning for the Department of Geography and Environmental Engineering of the same University, I had the opportunity to present and discuss much of the material included in this report in my classes. Some of the considerations concerning planning methodology have their origin in the academic lectures, where I presented specific American examples beside those of Barcelona. On the other hand, I have restricted myself here to a very short presentation of Barcelona - a city that I obviously know extensively - so as to assure the minimum necessary information to American readers: a longer survey could have distorted the paper.

I will especially thank Jack Fisher for having made possible my stay here and for his endeavors toward the International Fellowship Program. I also owe thanks to the staff of The Institute for Policy Studies and to its new director, Dr. Lester M. Salamon; to Bob Seidel for his advice and help throughout the semester; to Kurt Hoppe, Pieter Tanja, Giovanni Poggi, Alba Torrents and Florence Catrice, for their friendly companionship and exchange of information; to Daniel Serra for introducing me to Hopkins; to Margaret Shamer; to Gail S. Jorg; and to Marie Danna and Jean Biddinger for their help.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The late evolution of American cities is a serious subject of analysis and discussion for those who are involved in urban planning. The abundant literature recently generated on this theme on both sides of the Atlantic proves it. But what makes this topic even more attractive for planners and academics coming from Europe is the shocking contrast between the two systems of cities. This is a contrast that I immediately perceived when I first arrived in this country, and that struck me in spite of my previous knowledge of the American city through theoretical studies and technical literature. I have to say that I am still amazed at the real feeling of the contradictions and servitudes of the American cities.

As comparative analysis has always been a powerful method in planning, I now put forward research in which it is widely used. My first outline included a survey of the evolution of metropolitan cities - central areas and urban periphery-, their institutional framework and recent trends in urban planning; especially trends concerning housing production and housing policies. But I soon realized that the "new construction" era of housing policy had come to an end, and that private and publicly subsidized housing construction had sharply dropped. The shift to a more efficient use of the existing residential inventory and to the conversion of industrial structures, lofts and other non-residential buildings to residential uses - now a major issue in urban policy - was apparently the new trend. I thought that that shift in housing policies was perhaps pointing out a more broad redefinition of urban planning methods. Therefore, I focused my work on the conditions that have lead the American city to a situation in which traditional comprehensive planning seems to be irrelevant. My paper deals with demographic tendencies, job opportunities,

institutional organization and urban planning implications, comparing Barcelona to some Northeastern American cities. I am reserving the information on housing policies I gathered during my stay here for specific analysis and contrast with the experience of Barcelona after further inquiry.

Obviously, this is not an exhaustive report. It tackles the three major phenomena that are increasingly structuring and constraining the scope of urban planning: a) the emerging metropolitan - non-metropolitan dynamics, titled counterurbanization, that the nation is witnessing in this so-called slow-growth era; b) the new dichotomy between the rise of the sunbelt and the decline of the snowbelt, that reveals a major regional shift; and c) the internal tensions within metropolitan areas (core-periphery relations). I try to present these through a short historical approach, just to point out the underlying background of the cities in which these processes are taking place.

The second part of the paper deals with the lack of metropolitan governments in America and the subsequent implications for urban planning. This is an old question here, but a contemporary one in Barcelona, where the autonomous government of Catalunya has just removed the Barcelona metropolitan council of 34 years. Although circumstances and cities are different, common basic philosophies of local government (both pro and con metropolitan government) may be traced throughout history. Common institutional realities seem to appear as well.

Finally, the paper offers a closer comparison between Barcelona and some American cities in terms of size, population, and employment. I am aware that these are not the only factors to examine, but I believe that they are the three that mostly define the urban framework in which planning operates. Underlying economic processes, concisely identified in the first part of the report, are

here seen only through their final outcomes. The last section tries to summarize my personal view of urban planning; it emphasizes a change in issues and a change in methodology, and a slight but clear convergence in the attitude of planners towards the city.

As long as the present circumstances continue, comprehensive planning will slacken as direct policies take its place. This is a double-edged sword: it may lead planners to broadened responsibilities, but also cause planning to lose its commitment to the general form of the city. As far as this is the situation in America today, the change of name of the center (from "Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research" to "Institute for Policy Studies") is representative of it.

2. AMERICAN METROPOLITAN EVOLUTION

Metropolitan sprawl is the feature that most characterizes American cities. Yet this is not a new phenomenon but a very old one, especially if we compare the the American with the European metropolis. It first became apparent in the great Northeastern cities as soon as they reached a significant number of inhabitants at the beginning of this century. Thus, metropolitanism and urban growth have always been associated in most American cities. This is a distinctive form of growth indeed, that needed enormous extensions of land to allow setting low-density housing and that gave birth to new urbanization patterns. Among other factors, increasing automobile production from 1910 onward and the widespread introduction of the personal car made possible the new scale of the city. The emergence of metropolitan cities in the United States belongs to those years though faster development was registered after the Second World War. The American metropolis may be defined in short as a doubled and parallel process: that of continuous specialization downtown and that of reinforcement of residential suburban culture. Nevertheless, those processes are not so simple. The history of metropolitan development in American cities has been studied from different points of view and it is now well documented.¹ This part of the paper is devoted only to a further exploration of some outstanding facts necessary to a better understanding of the general argument. It begins with a review of general statistics and focuses then on some particular shifts and recent interesting trends.

2.1 The origin of metropolitan America

In 1920, for the first time, the United States urban population exceeded rural. Figure 1 shows the percentage of total population living in towns larger than 2500 people at each decennial Census, from 1790 to 1970 (Abler and Adams,

1976). The "urban population" concept is used here as defined by the United States Bureau of The Census; notwithstanding, at least two-thirds of population were living in cities by 1930 if we include the technically rural householders who were suburbanites.² In Figure 2, the evolution of metropolitan and non-metropolitan population is shown attending the "metropolitan area" concept as currently defined by the same Bureau of the Census. That includes suburban areas and suburban towns around cities. Metropolitan population is clearly above 50% of total by 1920; in 1960, it represents about 65% and it reaches 75% in 1960. That is the proportion kept up from that date up to 1985. Non-metropolitan population, on the other hand, remains constant in absolute terms, except for the last fifteen years. The chart shows clearly that practically the whole demographic increment has hitherto been absorbed by metropolitan areas (about 90% of total growth).

Population growth rates in metropolitan areas (shown as percent change in periods of ten years) give evidence of two main periods in which metropolitan cities developed faster (see Table 1). Growth rates for 1910-1920 and 1920-1930 (27.1 and 28.6 respectively) correspond to the appearance of the first metropolitan cities. The second relevant period (1940-1960) is identified by the presence of percent change rates above 20.

Those impressive figures document the vast dominance of America's metropolitan extensions. In the same aggregate presentation, the absolute population of the United States is now as follows (1985):

Metropolitan	180,069,000
Non-metropolitan	58,671,000
Total	238,740,000

The process of people and jobs getting farther and farther from central cities could be verified from the significant growth rates of 1910-1920. However, full recognition of its meaning as well as understanding of its consequences to the future of cities, was not very extensive. In spite of the new interest in the metropolis,³ only exceptionally was the real importance of the phenomenon assumed; yet the quantitative weight of people moving from central cities to suburbs was definitely shown by the United States Census of 1920.⁴

The extraordinary changes in the growth rate of most cities in 1920's may be understood as a result of the confluence of various forces, the technology of transport and industrial energy being among the most important. Borchert explains American metropolitan evolution emphasizing the significance of technological changes.⁵ Comparing the rise and decline of ten indicators of the technology of transport and industrial energy he finds that peak values of past years concentrate around 1870 and 1920. But technological progress is not the only factor: all circumstances and traditions in America seem to flow together to in the same direction, thus creating the urban conditions to develop a metropolitan culture.⁶

The peculiar metropolitan pattern of American cities emerged in the first decade of this century, when the automobile made possible a vast movement of people towards suburbs: automobile production reached about nine million units by 1920, and twenty seven million units by 1930. Although Northeastern metropolitan cities were already formed by this time⁷ - migrations from rural areas to industrial cities resulted in the outburst of the second half of the nineteenth century - their pattern of urbanization was still a compact one. The extraordinary growth of these cities is 1860-1910 consolidated their centers and

extended them to the outskirts. Public transportation favored the first, but limited diffusion of urban attributes over the territory. Only the generalized use of the car as a means of transportation around 1920 made possible going farther and thus making stronger suburban developments and outlying urban centers. These urbanization trends, carrying an evermore diffused city, were definitely confirmed in the early post Second World War period, where a new wave of people migrating towards great cities accelerated their metropolitan growth.

The new shape of American metropolis is in line with the traditional Anglo-Saxon way of regarding the city. The anti-urban American culture could easily find its roots in the early Northern Europe tradition. As a consequence of the accelerated growth of industrial cities in the mid-nineteenth century, living conditions became worst in most central neighborhoods. The housing question arose as the strongest issue in urban policy by the end of the century, absorbing all local and federal concern.⁸ Thus urban planners easily became interested in alternative ways of housing people. New housing areas within existing cities or in their immediate outskirts were projected and built up, but they satisfied only a small fraction of the overall needs.⁹ On the contrary, the garden-city theory quickly experienced a further development in America, after its introduction from England.¹⁰ It found here an unlimited field in which to expand and therefore contributed largely to support standard suburban developments. Local authorities, as well as architects and planners, paid no attention to the fact that introducing the garden city as a general pattern of urbanization was in detriment of the city center's health. Central cities weakened considerably once emptied of all residential functions and finally became business districts only. At the same time, suburbs, sprawling out into the countryside, enlarged cities to the point in which a new term -metropolis- was necessary to designate the

resulting urban concept. In spite of the different urban processes that have affected the internal structure of American cities from that moment hitherto - some of them to be analyzed in this paper- they have essentially maintained and even reinforced the main features above described.¹¹ Let us examine their further evolution.

2.2 Core-periphery changing relations.

"Urbanization trends in the United States today indicate suburbia to be the essence of the contemporary American city" (Muller, 1976). That may seem too hard a statement, but census data on suburbanization indicate that suburbs accelerated their absorption of population after 1945. More Americans live in suburbs now than in cities and urban areas combined. Forty years of continuous absolute growth in such extreme peripheral areas have resulted in the sprawling landscape of single-family houses on small lots that characterizes today's metropolitan cities. Figure 3 and Table 4 show the percent share of total United States population growth in suburbs, compared to central cities and rural areas. The sustained growth of city edges at a faster rate than that of central areas has been in evidence for the last century and a quarter (Muller, 1976 and Jackson, 1973). The declining rates of central cities and rural areas in the period 1950-1970 led to the present supremacy of suburban America. Table 2 shows the relative percentages of urban population growth for the period 1900-1970. Note that the suburban growth per 100 increase in the central city was as high as 2,153 in 1960-1970. Those figures have changed for the period beginning in 1970 up to 1985, as is also clearly figured in the above quoted graphic. We will comment upon that abrupt shift later.

The increasing importance of suburban population in particular cities becomes evident from 1950 onward. Table 3 refers to the evolution of some

Northeastern metropolitan areas, showing the percentages of their suburban population inside. That percentage grows faster in 1950-70 than in any other period of their history: from 38.9% to 51.2% in New York, from 34.8% to 56.3% in Baltimore and from 46.8% to 73.6% in Washington.

The great majority of cities experienced a continuous demographic growth throughout the fifties and sixties. The proportion of people living in metropolitan areas climbed to 69.9 in 1950 and 76.1 by 1960, reflecting migration from rural to urban areas and a renewed influx from abroad. Most of the people that migrated to cities in those two decades settled in suburban areas, thus consolidating the early suburbs within a large-scale urbanization process.

Values and beliefs dealing with the suburban idea are deeply rooted in American culture.¹² Historians have traced examples of suburban settlements from the eighteenth century, calling them colonial suburbs (Harlem, N.Y., 1720; Medford, Mass. 1734). A second generation of suburbs has been linked to street-car and railroad lines radiating from cities: they arose from the late nineteenth century to the World War. Most of them located near industrial areas allowing working-class housing to develop in good accessibility conditions to factories and production centers. Railroad suburbs took the name of the railroad stations (Lake Forest, Ill, 1861; Oak Park, Ill., 1901; Clifton, N.Y, 1917) and acquired more importance and identity than street-car suburbs (New Castle, Del. 1893; Jamaica Plain, Boston, 1905). The establishment of such suburbs as Riverside, Illinois (1869) or even before Llewellyn Park, New Jersey (1859), provided the first models of the emerging new urbanization pattern. Other model-suburbs developed later include Roland Park, Md (1891); Beverly Hills, California (1910) and Radburn, New Jersey (1929). The best garden-city projects were carried out in the period in between the two World Wars (Stern, 1978; Corominas, 1981).

A third generation of suburbs has obviously been associated with the automobile. Its adoption after 1920 sustained and accentuated metropolitan growth in the way shown in the precedent chapter.¹³ It also produced new models in projecting and implementing suburbs, including Radburn-like further developments and other so-called automobile-suburbs (Greenwood, Ind. 1949; Lindenhurst, N.Y. 1955; Middlesex, Vt. 1965). But above all the automobile made possible suburbs of unprecedented size in farther locations, opening up unbuilt areas and interstitial sectors. The introduction of freeways made even more massive and extensive suburban growth after the Second World War. They created a diffused settlement pattern and an absolute flexibility in choosing locations for both residential and business activities: "With the increasing urbanization of the suburbs in the 1960s and 1970s, a transition has been occurring from the city-dominant/suburb-dependent spatial relationship to a far more complex intrametropolitan structure with its urban elements scattered almost randomly within the regional city" (Muller, 1976).

At the same time, central cities declined in population and activity. As early as 1919 public-work programs had to be launched in order to improve the deteriorated cities. These included public housing programs (U.S. Department of Labor, 1920), public building construction and all sort of infrastructure improvements. Also huge investments in highways, tunnels, bridges and other private transportation infrastructure made for a new inner-city landscape. But the so-called "urban renewal" action was probably the most important step towards concentrating business, banks and offices in downtown districts. Urban redevelopment was one of the major fields of action by the late fifties: plans were submitted to federal and local authorities to correct traffic congestion, provide new commercial and office centers and demolish-rebuild obsolete buildings

in central sectors. The demolishing fever had reached one of its highest points in the 1930s after the Great Depression, emptying the greatest city downtowns of valuable buildings (notably in Chicago). "Urban renewal" programs completed the job throughout the sixties and seventies, only to make downtowns more tertiary-specialized areas.¹⁴

Redevelopment projects in inner-cities resulted in increasing numbers of displaced residents, that led the proportions of housing shortage to worrying figures in mid-1950s. Slum clearance and public housing programs tried to provide adequate accommodations to low-income families after the 1954 Housing Act prescribed standards for housing and renewal projects and provided federal funds. The total of these slum-clearance projects authorized under 1949 and 1954 Acts, was 340 in 218 cities. Demolition had started at 216 projects involving 108,000 substandard dwellings on 8,000 slum areas, but redevelopment was substantially completed only at relatively minor sites in nine cities (McKelvey, 1968). But the overall effect of urban renewal action on cities was undoubtedly that of a loss of residential uses in central locations. Former inhabitants in the cleared areas scattered throughout the metropolis as they were re-located in designated new housing areas.¹⁵

The future of the inner city is still a dilemma, although new urban processes have arisen in the last fifteen years. Figure 3 shows a clear shift in the percentage of population growth shared by suburbs, central cities and rural areas from 1970. Suburbs still continue growing but not at the same speed (see also Table 4 for percent changes in decennial periods). It seems that after decades of continuous population exodus from inner cities to suburbia the process has nearly reached its top level. Nevertheless, 44.2% of U.S. population is still there, living in suburban areas. For the last fifteen years,

intrametropolitan deconcentration involved not only people but also activity.

"Historical trends have drained the Central Business District and its environs of much manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing activity. Together with the decline of railroad commutation and the pressure for car storage, these trends have rendered much of the built environment of the urban core empty, underused and derelict" (Conzen, 1983). This transformation implied the emergence of a considerable number of outlying urban centers, intensifying the spread of employment over a larger metropolitan territory. Deconcentration of economic activity in metropolitan areas was calculated to be in progress still in 1970. Percent suburban share of total jobs was 51.8 in Philadelphia, 62.2 in Boston, 49.9 in Baltimore and 54.9 in Washington by 1970 (Muller, 1976).

Notwithstanding, a wide array of business functions, administrative offices and bank headquarters have remained in downtown areas, even producing a new skyscraper construction boom in the core of most of the largest cities, and therefore resulting in a further specialization of those areas.¹⁶

2.3 Counterurbanization and new metropolitan trends

Two recent phenomena can describe the outstanding trends of late metropolitan evolution. On one hand, slow growth and counterurbanization represent major facets of urban change in America, a shift to nonmetropolitan growth or diffuse urbanization. On the other hand, a new internal dichotomy is taking place in the metropolis, involving core-periphery displacements and substantially changing most of the ideas on the city prevailing ten years ago.

For the first time in this century the nonmetropolitan population is growing faster than the population of metropolitan areas (14.1 and 10.5 percent respectively between 1970 and 1980; 8.3 and 6.2 percent between 1980 and 1985). Population of many rural areas and small towns has been increasing significantly

for the last fifteen years, whereas a lot of large cities and their metropolitan areas have either ceased growing or decreased in number of people. The largest metropolitan areas registered 1.5 and 0.1 percent decline in population over the two last decades, revealing a shift of patterns prevailing up to 1960s. The phenomenon has been called counterurbanization: "Urbanization, the process of population concentration has been succeeded in the United States by counterurbanization, a process of population deconcentration characterized by smaller sizes, decreasing densities and increasing local homogeneity, set within widening radii of national interdependence" (Berry, 1980). In figure 4, United States total population growth decennial indexes are compared to metropolitan and nonmetropolitan ones. Metropolitan areas are growing slower than the national total; the turning point being situated in 1970. Conzen (1983) states that socio-demographic behaviors and technological progress are the causes of slow growth tendencies: "The causes of this historic deceleration in growth are a mixture of socio-demographic trends and technological change. Death rates have been mostly constant, but birth rates have fallen significantly since the postwar baby boom from 18.2 to 15.8 per thousand during the 1970s. High costs and reduced availability of energy have directly threatened urban living standards. Meanwhile a "rural renaissance" has occurred in the form of increased migration to small towns whether for retirement, second homes or a response to the mystique of rural living in "safe" places removed from large-city ills. Such movements have been aided by the broad diffusion of new technology for both domestic comfort (telephone and television) and business decentralization (computers and coaxial cable)" Other analyses suggest economic forces being responsible for much of the deceleration of the growth the urban population (Long and DeAre,

1983), so that new jobs are being added as rapidly in rural areas as they are in urban areas.¹⁷

Slow growth and counterurbanization are not geographically uniform. Surveys based on the last Census data reveal that while Northern major metropolis areas have stopped their growing, Southern and Western metropolitan continue their progress at a significant rate. "Frostbelt" and "Sunbelt" population dynamics are therefore different, although deceleration in central cities growth is general.¹⁸

Northern states increased their overall population in a 2.4% (1970-1982), to compare to the 26.2% growth in Southern and Western states. As a whole, Northeast region metropolitan population descended from 43,742,000 to 43,291,000 from 1970 to 1980. In the same period and in the South region the figures were 42,217,000 to 51,415,000, and in the Western region, 29,159,000 to 35,772,000.¹⁹ Ten first metropolitan areas declined in population, whereas sunbelt metropolitan areas had a significant growth rate in the same 1970-80 period: Los Angeles (12%), San Diego (37%), Houston (65%).

The New York metropolitan area lost 699,703 inhabitants from 1970 to 1984, Chicago 34,995, Philadelphia 55,722 and Boston 66,491. On the other hand, San Francisco metropolitan area increased its population in 60,175 inhabitants, Dallas in 614,000, Los Angeles in 859,240 and Houston in 1,270,000. These figures are still more conclusive when referring to cities themselves.²⁰

The reasons for 1980s sunbelt growth have still not been definitely determined, but location preference patterns seem to have changed for many industries due to lower labor costs, cheaper land and other economic reasons, as well as to environmental factors (warmer climates and lower congestion). The general shift to a service sector economy²¹ has favored the sunbelt, where

service industries (health, military, government) have been settling significantly since 1970 (Stanbach, 1981). Notwithstanding, the frostbelt is keeping the heavy industry (basic industries of manufacturing and mining) as well as other important industries (notably high-tech centers, linked to scientific research and development) and services (finances, real estate administration and other)

The extraordinary demographic and economic growth of the Southern and Western states - implying a large-scale population redistribution - linked to the new "slow growth"- "counterurbanization" pattern, strongly characterizes the territorial changes now in operation. Is the national shift to a service economy producing a new settlement system?

In addition to these phenomena, also the internal structure of cities is changing. We said before that roughly three in four Americans live within metropolitan areas. We also noted that deconcentration of people and jobs was already in progress by early 1970s. In fact, for each new job created in the central areas in the 1920s, four were created in the suburbs. Not only retail and construction, but also manufacturing jobs are now found out in suburban areas. And still more: offices and some corporate headquarters have begun to move to suburbs as well (see Muller, 1981 and Conzen, 1983).

Deconcentration of the economy has keenly affected the city-center, but paradoxically downtown areas have maintained their activity and expansion. The consequences of deconcentration can be best observed in the sections of central cities surrounding downtowns. While a new investment era in downtown is manifested in a rebirth of skyscrapers and all kinds of multi-purpose buildings (New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore are clear examples), degradation and decline are in net increase in whole sections of the inner-city. Both prospering

downtowns and degraded areas are sometimes so close that they bring amazing contrast.

The new downtown life is also emphasized by the resettlement of higher socio-economic status groups. After the escape to suburbs of middle classes in 1950s and 1960s (tens of millions of people went out towards the suburbs of the "American Dream" in that period), the return to the inner city is much more selective, more individualized and discriminating, and involves specific and clearly defined areas of the inner-city. Gentrification has been opposed to 1960s "urban renewal" (Hewig, 1980), pointing out that the process is less sudden, less massive and less visible than the publicly mandated remodeling actions of thirty years ago. As intrametropolitan migration trends show that middle classes continue to settle in the outer suburbs, gentrification is a limited process, affecting only very specific groups of people and a particular type of neighborhood. Cechini and Marcelloni (1985) expressed the idea that "the return of management centers and prestige residences to the downtown areas (...) is an expression of substantial changes in the American myth. In short, a new technological aristocracy is taking over the city centers. This is something entirely new for the Americans. It requires and adopts values, spaces, complexities, proximities and symbols of urban centrality in which the individual carries out all the day's activity. Maybe for the very first time, the apartment is seen as being an ideologically suitable alternative to the "house", discarding the American dream as something fit only for the lower classes". While the ethnic minorities are still trapped in clusters in central areas ²², the standard American family's changing structure²³ is perhaps creating the objective conditions to assume the ideological values given to the central city by today's quantitatively irrelevant gentrifiers.

The confluence of all these processes has reinforced the specialization of cities in diverse economic categories and at the same time made stronger areal polarization within the city, sharply defining its different zones. American cities consist today in a series of well-defined and high-specialized, simply juxtaposed, badly-coordinated clusters. Such tendencies develop freely, "in total absence of any idea or any planned process. If by "planning" we mean a social idea of the city, of the organization and use of urban space and its facilities, it emerges as a long and drawn-out conquest. It is imperfect because it aims to be democratic, and it raises conflict because it tries to keep to a middle path. But it remains a conquest: although it does not perhaps offer any absolute guarantee against undesired transformation of the land, it nevertheless acts as a filter for evaluating and weakening the worst of less socially acceptable programs" (Cechini and Marcelloni, 1985).

3. THE ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK OF METROPOLITAN EXPANSION

In spite of the fact that "metropolitan districts" were defined by the United States Bureau of the Census as early as in 1910, they have never been legally recognized as a unit of government. So far as the established system of local government institutions has survived, and even increased their power, a long history of desires and attempts to organize the metropolis, a continuous search for metropolitan government, may be drawn. But only the creation of independent metropolitan-district authorities to perform specific functions provided sometimes partial, uncoordinated answers to outstanding problems of the largest cities. County and municipal governments - together with other minor types of local governments - already constitute the only politically elected bodies and so the ones that support the administrative framework of the metropolis.

This part of the paper deals with the present organization of American local government, trying to assess its implications for metropolitan requirements and needs.

3.1 Defining the metropolis

An early definition of "metropolitan districts" was introduced by the United States Bureau of the Census in 1910, which designates cities of at least 200,000 population as the core of a metropolitan district. In 1940, the concept expanded to cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants with a density of at least 150 persons per square mile (0.58 persons per hectare) within their territory. Such early definitions tried to cope with increasing suburbanization in large cities. They provided a new territorial unit to make it possible to identify and obtain statistical data not being subjected to municipal or other administrative limits.²⁴

The "Standard Metropolitan Area" (SMA) concept developed by the Bureau of the Budget with the advice of the newly established Federal Committee on Standard Metropolitan Areas, replaced "metropolitan districts" in 1950. The SMAs consisted of one or more contiguous counties containing at least one city of 50,000 or more inhabitants. Additional counties had to meet certain criteria of metropolitan character and of social and economic integration with the central county in order to be included in a SMA. So the SMA was not more based primarily upon population density criteria, as 1910s metropolitan districts were. The SMA was defined in terms of entire counties or county equivalents, in order to make compatible all administrative divisions. Changes in the official criteria have been made at the time of each Census, but more of these changes have involved significant deviations from the basic metropolitan concept. In 1960 the designation of "Standard Metropolitan Area" (SMA) was changed to "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area" (SMSA). Complicated regulations, standards and procedures have been developed by the Federal Committee on Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. SMSAs (or simply MSAs) are defined as follows: "Each SMSA has one or more "central counties" containing the area's main population concentration. An MSA also may include outlying counties that have close economic and social relationships with the central counties. Such counties must have a specified level of commuting to the central counties and also must meet certain standards regarding metropolitan character, such as high population density. In New England, MSA's are composed of cities and towns rather than whole counties. Each MSA has at least one "central city". The titles of MSA's include up to three central city names as well as the name of each state into which the MSA extends. Additional places not in the title also can be central cities.

In MSA with a population of 1 million or more, PMSA's may be identified. Each such area consist of a large urbanized county or cluster of counties that demonstrates very strong internal economic and social links, in addition to close ties to neighboring areas; local opinion must support separate recognition of PMSA's. When PMSA's are defined, the MSA of which they are component parts is redesignated a CMSA. Not all PMSA's have a central city. (U.S.Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1986).

The standards for establishing MSAs, CMSAs and PMSAs are divided into 16 numbered sections: "The first eight sections contain the basic standards for defining metropolitan statistical areas in all States except the New England States. They specify standards for determining:

How large a population nucleus must be to qualify as a metropolitan statistical area. (Section 1)

The central county(ies) of the metropolitan statistical area. (Section 2)

Whether additional "outlying" counties have sufficient metropolitan character and integration with the central county(ies) to qualify for inclusion in the metropolitan statistical area. (Section 3)

The central city or cities of each metropolitan statistical area. (Section 4)

Whether two adjacent metropolitan statistical areas qualify to be consolidated or combined. (Section 5 and 6)

Four categories or "levels" of metropolitan statistical areas, based on the total population of each area. (Section 7)

The title for each metropolitan statistical area. (Section 8)

Following these eight basic sections, there are three standards (Sections 9 through 11) which provide a framework for identifying primary metropolitan statistical areas within metropolitan statistical areas of at least 1 million population. A metropolitan statistical area in which primary metropolitan statistical areas have been identified is designated a consolidated metropolitan statistical area.

The concluding group of standards (Sections 12 through 16) applies only to the New England States. In these states, metropolitan statistical areas are composed of cities and towns rather than whole counties. Section 12, 13, and 14 specify how to define and title New England metropolitan statistical areas, and Sections 15 through 16 state how to identify and title primary and consolidated metropolitan statistical areas within areas of at least a million population."²⁵

These long quotations may help to understand the enormous difficulties that arise from the intent of producing definitions that want to be as consistent as possible for all metropolitan statistical areas nationwide.

The number of metropolitan areas thus defined was 140 in 1940, 172 in 1950, 215 in 1960, 247 in 1970 and 288 in 1980. In October 1984, a total of 261 MSAs, 21 CMSAs and 73 PMSAs were classified (see figure 5).

Defining the metropolis only for statistical purposes and through standards to measure the degree of economic and social integration of the adjacent communities to the nucleus, these communities being entire counties, has resulted in unmeasured delimitations. The concept of "urbanized area",²⁶ consisting of the physically continuous built-up area around each large city, but not the scattered suburban and semi-rural areas on its periphery, provided a more concise area, but it has not been so widely used in urban studies and surveys. Instead, the considerable extension of MSAs and PMSAs, and the enormous size of CMSAs,

brings them near to the "metropolitan regions" idea. The "Regional Plan of New York and its environs"²⁷, for example, was drawn in 1929 after defining a New York region of 14,217 km² (that is smaller than the present CMSA). Most of the presently designated "regions" to the purpose of planning as well as transportation advice and other functions are almost coincident with statistical metropolitan areas.²⁸ Nevertheless, only from a previous idea of what kind of large-scale operations are desired and must be given priority, in a coordinated framework of functions involving the whole area, may criteria to physically define a territory be found. That leads us to the question of the metropolitan government.

3.2 Local governments in metropolitan areas.

Early metropolitan authorities, organized on a functional basis and appointed by the governors, had relieved the pressure for specific services in New York, Chicago and Boston in the first decade of this century. The Regional Plan Association movement also provided a platform to prompt metropolitan governments in the late twenties. But the desire for some form of metropolitan government continued during the years of the Great Depression and after the Second World War, being always frustrated by state governments, which remained indifferent or hostile to the emergent local pattern. (McKelvey, 1968).

As the population increased in suburban areas, state legislators reduced the cities' initiative by shifting many responsibilities to the counties and by creating metropolitan agencies to perform specific functions. New attempts at metropolitan reorganization, especially after the formation of a metropolitan government in Toronto and Miami in 1954, occurred. "Metropolitan studies multiplied in the late fifties.(...) Both local and national foundations supported these studies in specific cities and backed long-range research

programs on the problems of metropolitan government at university centers in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Texas, among several other states" (McKelvey, 1968).²⁹

The same or similar pressures from academic and professional sectors to urge metropolitan organization and metropolitan planning continued during the sixties and seventies and up to now, although the movement weakened considerably in the last decade. Introducing metropolitan governments, though largely seen as a necessity (Long, 1965; Levin, 1962) implied fundamental structural changes at several political and administrative levels that states could not or did not to face. Attempts to organize the metropolis have succeeded only partially with the creation of advisory agencies that prepare surveys on specific planning problems in some cities. Such agencies were created after the long 1960s discussions about whether metropolitan planning was wanted or needed, but they tend to focus on specific issues, such as public transportation, sewerage and water systems, and the like. But that is precisely the way that even in the early 1940s was recommended to be avoided: "A separate government for each function would be the ideal solution of the problem of governmental areas from the point of view of single-interest groups. This would mean a plethora of special areas and special governments, resulting in the further disintegration of authority and dispersion of control, the increase of ruinous competition for available tax resources, and continued unco-ordinated planning of governmental services" (Jones, 1941).³⁰ The action of specialized agencies, may be added, tends to favor a partial understanding of urban problems and therefore to make more difficult an integrated or general idea for the city.³¹

So far as the organization of local government in the United States has been based on County and Municipal government (as well as Township governments in some states, and Special or School District governments to provide specific services),

metropolitan areas have remained only statistical units. Their jurisdictional fragmentation has been historically explained as a factor that offers important advantages to the process of capital accumulation, allowing a segregated reproduction of the different social strata (Nel.lo, 1985). Whatever the reasons may be to explain the diversity and complexity that characterize the administrative organization of local communities, the political, economic and social implications are enormous. Those of them that affect urban planning are here important enough to deserve a separate discussion.

3.3 Implications of local government structure on urban planning

The political fragmentation of the American metropolis into different local governments has continuously been reducing the scope of urban planning to partial, sectional actions that lack a comprehensive concept of the city. Due to the specific characteristics of the great American cities, examined above, it is clear that a consideration of the whole areas involved in urban transformations and processes is essential to a proper understanding of the context in which planning operates. A planning program or a general direction must galvanize all different actions, co-ordinate functions and democratically assure control of decisions that affect the different communities living and using the same urban (metropolitan) structures.

The urban context in which American cities have been developing during the last years (See 2.3) is that of slackening growth rates and depth specialization of each different section. Deconcentration of people and activity to suburban rings continues to be prelevant in major cities, and a limited but ideologically intriguing gentrification process is also occurring. These are phenomena that involve both the core and the periphery of the city. Therefore, cities and

suburbs, that is to say metropolitan areas, have to be considered together to get a correct understanding of urban dynamics.

New trends in planning are taking shape in different countries in the eighties. Urban planning, and even metropolitan planning, are no longer timeless zone-regulation instruments aiming to control land uses or urban initiatives, as they used to be in the past. The new plans pose an implicit challenge: that of combining correctly small and large-scale actions, timing them properly in the short-term or medium-term. That means also a clear commitment to carry them into execution. This is crucial, for securing planning implementation requires a decision-making framework that should be appropriate to the scope of its operational structure. It seems clear that metropolitan planning on an advisory basis does not facilitate a strong effectiveness.

It must be pointed out that urban planning tendencies in the new urban context focus on qualifying the existing urban areas and try to implement an integrated set of actions dealing with the form of the entire city. Whether such a synthesis may be contained in a plan depends largely on both the suitability of the chosen ambit of operation and the political commitment to put ideas into effect. Otherwise planning would be permanently restricted to only giving partial responses to previous maladjustments.

The lack of significant political structure in metropolitan areas leads to a dispersal of action and, what is worse, to an important erosion of the philosophy of city government. As Norton E. Long put it in his forceful article of 1965: "the future of the city lies in our capacity to develop a political philosophy of the self-governing community that can inform the fragmented mass of the metropolitan area with a meaningful common political life. The metropolitan area that succeeds in creating a political form and a philosophy and leadership to go

with it will ensure the survival of local self-government and the emergence of a new great age of cities in the United States" (Long, 1965)

4. THE AMERICAN NORTHEASTERN CITIES: A REFERENCE TO BARCELONA

Trying to compare the urban evolution of Barcelona -or any other Mediterranean city- with that of American cities is always a hard and risky exercise. The short analysis of American metropolitan evolution contained in this paper is enough to highlight the structural differences that characterize both systems of cities. The present situation and tendencies observed do confirm the maintenance and even the reinforcement of different behaviors. Patterns of use, density, activity, and distribution of economic wealth in inner cities and suburbs are prominent indicators of those different models.

Notwithstanding, this fourth part of the paper is tracing a parallel analysis of metropolitan development of both Barcelona and some American older cities.³² Questions that immediately arise are: how deep are such structural differences?, what processes already experienced - or recently detected - by American cities may also occur in the Mediterranean region? what could be the role of urban planning in correcting undesirable tendencies?, what is the effect of jurisdictional fragmentation of metropolitan areas upon urban dynamics? and what is the scope of planning in American and European cities in the 1980s?³³ This paper will not provide definite answers to those questions but only suggest possible directions, thus contributing to a better formulation of the metropolitan problem.

4.1 A Mediterranean metropolis: Barcelona

A short presentation of Barcelona will be necessary before going forward. It will be very concise and will concern only metropolitan development and planning. It is conducted through three main topics: first, the background of a capital city; second, its metropolitan growth and articulation; and third, the scale and problems of urban planning.³⁴

4.1.1 Barcelona: from pre-industrial city to metropolis

Barcelona is the capital of Catalunya -an autonomous entity within the Spanish state with its own government and political institutions- and the second city in Spain. We may compare Catalunya and Maryland, just to get a dimensional idea of both territories:

	<u>Land (km²)</u>	<u>Population (inhabs)</u>	<u>Density(inhab./km²)</u>
(1984) Maryland, U.S.A.	25,477	4,349,000	170
(1986) Catalunya, Spain	31,962	5,956,414	186

While in Maryland 4,093,802 inhabitants live in Baltimore and Washington metropolitan areas (about 93% of total), in Catalunya there are 3,019,435 people living in the metropolitan area of Barcelona (that is only 50.69% of total population of the country).

In the middle of the nineteenth century Barcelona reached a critical point when its population density became too great for the space available within the city's walls. The population pressure and the need for expansion led to their long sought-after demolition in 1854.

The plan drawn up by the engineer Ildefonso Cerda,³⁵ approved in 1859, was to organize the city's expansion, which covered the entire nearly virgin plain separating the old central district from the surrounding towns. This was the area occupied in recent years by the growing population and new industries that could not longer find room in Barcelona.

The proximity of these municipalities, their growth rate and their close relations with the city made it advisable to incorporate them into the Barcelona municipal district in the early twentieth century. Activities grew and increased even further because of those deriving from the city's growth itself (public works projects, large infrastructures such as the underground railway - the

subway, etc.). All this favored the movement of a large mass of laborers into Barcelona from the rest of Catalonia and Spain.

Repeating the process of a hundred years before on a larger scale, a second peripheral ring of industries and working-class neighborhoods grew up on the weak foundations of the surrounding municipalities, which soon found themselves taxed beyond their limits. The dangers of this type of "oil-slick" expansion justified drawing up and approving a "Regional Plan covering the capital city of Barcelona and the surrounding towns that live and develop with it" in 1953, as well as the creation of a national autonomous agency known as the Barcelona Urban Planning Commission (C.U.B.) that was to ensure the Plan's implementation.

From the legal standpoint, the most important novelty was the willingness to approach the supramunicipal problem jointly, without going as far as administrative annexation. This resulted in the configuration that has existed till today under the Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation, which included 27 municipalities. In 1960, the Special Act of Barcelona expanded the C.U.B.'s competence to include responsibilities having to do with the establishment, management, provision and inspection of public services of a regional nature, such as transportation, water supply and sewers, housing, etc. This change - reflected in the agency's new name, Urban Planning and Joint Services Commission for Barcelona and Other Municipalities - came about because of the need for better financial and management possibilities to cope with the functional requirements of an area undergoing a process of metropolitanization, and the progressive accumulation of deficits generated by rapid, chaotic growth. Indeed, above and beyond the statements of intentions in the 1953 Plan, the country's economic reality was imperative; the priority of the moment was to favor - at the lowest possible cost - industrialization and development,

following the model that arose spontaneously and was reinforced by the "developmentalist" conceptions of the sixties, which centered around powerful poles like the Barcelona region.

Waves of immigration increased and reached their peak around 1965. In 1970 the area's population - excluding the capital - approached the million mark, doubling the forecasts made for that year in 1953.

Connivance of certain non-democratic corporations with local economic agents opened the door to all types of abuses. To the abominable quality of housing and residential areas was often added manifest misrepresentation or non-compliance with laws, including changes of use, loss of open spaces, increase in building permits, etc., that totally distorted the general meaning and specific positive aspects contained in the 1953 Plan.

As we entered the seventies a double phenomenon became evident. On the one hand, Barcelona had practically reached the saturation point of her municipal district and radically cut down its growth process, part of which shifted toward the neighboring municipalities that continued their rapid growth. On the other hand, a third peripheral ring had consolidated with its base as the powerful ring of cities made up of Mataro, Granollers, Sabadell, Terrassa and Martorell, which was closed off to the south by Vilafranca and Vilanova. Together with the more traditional centers, other municipalities were sites for important industrial implantation and abundant immigration.

It was now all this area that acted increasingly like a functional unit with all the complex interdependencies that characterize a metropolitan area.

4.1.2. A metropolitan government

The review of the 1953 Plan went ahead, but was strictly limited to the demarcation of the 27 initial municipalities instead of the 139 that made up the

frustrated project. After long years of work, the review was initially approved in March 1974 under the name of the General Metropolitan Plan (G.M.P.). A few months later (August 1974), a Decree-Act completely changed the nature of the area's managing body, and the old Commission became the Corporacio Metropolitana de Barcelona, retaining the scope of 1953 but losing the nature of an autonomous agency and becoming a local government, with the municipalities playing a direct role through second-degree, weighted representation.

This institutional configuration and the final approval of the G.M.P. (July 1976) defined the legal framework in which the new metropolitan government resulting from the first democratic municipal elections in April 1979 had to move.

This form of metropolitan government has been in operation from 1974 to 1987. After it was strongly criticized by the autonomous government of Catalunya during the last two years, a law was approved to substitute it by two different agencies with specific and limited programs in April, 1987. One of these agencies will deal with metropolitan planning and the other with water cycles.³⁶

The reasons for removing the metropolitan institution appear to be mainly influenced by prevailing political strategies in the Catalunya government. Considering the degree of consolidation and urban characteristics of the metropolitan territory, and the achievements of its government during a long period of time, such a decision is clearly a backwards step. Its implications on the city itself are to be studied after a significant time of operation of the new administrative structures.

4.1.3 Planning metropolitan Barcelona.

The G.M.P. proposed to meet four priority goals: to save the few remaining open spaces, reduce building intensity, prevent new abuses and correct the

deficits in infrastructure and utilities accumulated in preceding years.

Furthermore, the Plan encompassed program orientations with a view to the future: enhancing the role of Barcelona as Catalunya's great service center, expanded to compete nationally and internationally; favoring the appearance of complementary centers; maintaining and fostering industrial activity as the engine of economic progress; ensuring operation of the metropolitan system through a communications network that would provide easy access to all points.³⁷

The basis for these last goals and their specification in certain planning proposals evidenced the confidence in maintaining the economic and population dynamics of the Barcelona area that presided over the gestation of the G.M.P. In this sense, we should recall that it was drawn up during the period of expansion prior to the general economic crisis that began in 1973 and coincided also with the start of a new phase of moderate demographic growth resulting from the simultaneous incidence of two factors: on the one hand, the drop in immigration caused by lack of job prospects in the Barcelona area, one of the areas in Spain hardest hit by unemployment; and on the other hand a fall in the birth rate, a phenomenon of complex origins generalized throughout the country, particularly after 1975.

This socioeconomic context and the consequences of the lack of control and irregularities in the non-democratic town halls marked the priorities that would be the focus of activity for the new corporations and the metropolitan institution: stabilization, effectiveness and openness of management, bringing the agencies closer to the public, reorientation toward the qualitative aspects as opposed to the quantitative side of urban development (facilities and services, parks and gardens, internal reform, protection of the natural environment); functional integration of the metropolitan unit, with equitable

distribution of the drawbacks and benefits arising from the implementation of common services, etc.

These goals were spelled out explicitly in the "Bases for an Action Program" of March 1980 and later reasserted by the "Directives" approved by the Metropolitan Council on 12 March, 1981, when the program lines that were to guide the activities of the first democratic government were laid out.³⁸

The new team's initial observation was that, although there were important legal, institutional and territorial limitations that made it difficult to make an effective impact on the metropolitan reality in all its complexity and dimension, it was also true that the gravity of the inherited problem necessitated immediate decisions and actions in the area concerned (Corporacio Metropolitana de Barcelona, 1983).

4.2 The size of a metropolis

The size of cities, considered only the administrative delimitation that defines a municipality, depends largely on many historical and political factors that are scarcely concerned with urban problems. The existence of other consolidated municipalities around a central city has always made the process of institutionalization of metropolitan areas a difficult one.

Table 5 shows the extension of different cities and their metropolitan areas. Compared to Barcelona, it is clear that different concepts have been used in qualifying metropolitan areas. The "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area" concept, including the "primary" and "consolidated" areas distinction, has been previously analyzed in this paper (see 3.1). As outlying counties with sufficient metropolitan character and integration with the central county may be included in a SMSA, the assessment of those possible links becomes the most relevant criterion in defining a metropolitan area. In short, the SMSA concept

is based on a model of an urban area in which people work at the center and live at the periphery: The metropolitan area stops at the boundary of the commutershed. But it has been contested arguing that it no longer corresponds to reality, as more and more places of employment locate at the periphery and, consequently many people who live beyond commuting distance to the city center do commute to those suburban jobs (Blumenfeld, 1986).

Barcelona's metropolitan area (Barcelona-CMB) was firstly defined in 1953 using implicit geographical criteria, but no economic or social standards were used to measure intensity of commuting or other links. The area is today almost coincident with the urbanized area around the city. It occupies a surface of only 478 Km²; that is the extension of a single city or nearly in most other cases. The city of Madrid, for instance, has a surface of 607 Km². Differences of surface when comparing Barcelona to American cities are also important. Cities of less population, as Boston, Washington, Baltimore, and Detroit, own a much larger municipal territory. A city like Philadelphia, with the same population as Barcelona, has three and a half times more space (352,23 Km² and 99,31 Km²).

Barcelona is in that sense a very small city. Its specific history, as well as the spread of industrial and economic activities over its surroundings from the very beginning of the industrial revolution provided a reinforcement of little villages, which developed their own local government. In spite of their political endurance, some of them were incorporated to the city in the early twentieth century. The urban and institutional complexity of the territory around Barcelona made necessary a metropolitan administration earlier than its other Spanish cities. While Madrid incorporated a second series of municipalities after the Spanish Civil War, Barcelona created its 1953 "Comision de Urbanismo"

with planning responsibilities over the same area that later would become the metropolitan area.

After a few years, however, a greater metropolitan area was proposed by the technical team in charge of the new metropolitan plan, employing criteria that approximate the SMSA concept.³⁹ This was an area of 3.297 Km², including 139 municipalities, and a population of more than four million inhabitants. The proposal was submitted but not approved by political authorities in 1968, so the area has remained as a study-purpose one, with the name of "Metropolitan Region" (MR).

The present situation, after the removal of the metropolitan institutionalized area, is somewhat confused. It seems that a second-level local government, the "comarca" will be created as a general administrative division in the country. Catalunya has an old tradition of being organized in "comarcas", a unit based on historical, geographical and economic criteria.⁴⁰ Each "comarca" has a medium-size city as a capital. Barcelona will get its own "comarca", that will probably include only five or six municipalities and therefore a territory considerably smaller compared to that of the present metropolitan area.

The area defined in 1953 and institutionalized in 1973 has been effective for 34 years. Some particular aspects of its delimitation might have been rectified, or some new municipalities added, in order to make it compatible with the "Comarca" territorial organization of the country. But the approved removal of any form of metropolitan institution is undoubtedly too severe an option: it leaves the real continuously built-up area without an instance of local government and breaks up planning responsibilities. The case of Barcelona, a city with only 99,31 km² of territory surrounded by other thirty or more metropolitan cities within the same urbanized territory - characterized by a

pattern of high densities in population and high degree of economic activity - is not very common. Boston, with only 122,29 Km², is also a surrounded city and has suffered a lot on account of it; as in other American cities, the greater part of its population lives outside the city and much of the economic and social activities escape local government's control. This is not the case of Barcelona, that in spite of its small size, still keeps about 56,36% of the total metropolitan population within the city-line. But a clear tendency to lose population has been observed throughout the last years...

Though a Metropolitan Region may be defined for planning purposes, inheriting the 1968 technical proposals above quoted, that will be a too large area for a local government and city-planning. The Metropolitan Region is necessary, however, to define the main development lines, the economic objectives for the region or the so-called "Structure Plan". But is is not the appropriate area, in Barcelona, for city-scale planning and it definitely cannot help to balance metropolitan development.

4.3. Metropolitan growth and decline: a demographic approach

In the aggregate, the United States metropolitan population has never stopped increasing, although it grew slower from 1970s than before. As a consequence, the percentage of people living in metropolitan areas stabilized at about 75% for the last fifteen years. Metropolitan population increased from 153,693,767 in 1970 (75.6% of total) to 169,430,623 in 1980 (74.8% of total).

At the same time, the cities of the Northeastern region evolved in a different way. Their metropolitan areas lost population not only in relative but also in absolute terms (see 2.3). In fact, New York metropolitan area was losing population from 1950, Chicago from 1960 and Philadelphia and Boston from 1970.

Figure 6 represents this evolution, including updated figures to 1985. (Abler and Adams, 1976)

Population of metropolitan areas from 1960 to 1985 is based on successive area definitions by the United States Bureau of the Census.⁴¹ Table 6 shows the exact figures issued by annual census. Only Washington and Baltimore continue increasing their metropolitan population. New York lost 4,535,079 inhabitants in the last 35 years, that is to say a 35% of the population it had in 1950. The rest of metropolitan areas have been slowly weakening. Nevertheless, the advanced 1985 figures show a tendency to recuperation in all cases.

Compared to Barcelona, these figures need some explanation. (See Figure 7) First of all, two different areas are here shown: Barcelona-CMB, the institutionalized metropolitan area up to now, and Barcelona-MR, a greater area or "Metropolitan Region". As it has been said above, only the latter is comparable in size to American SMSAs. But Barcelona-CMB may be compared in population. Both of them had an impressive growth from 1960 to 1980, though the MR area grew faster during the 1970s. While it continues growing at present, the Barcelona-CMB area began to decline in 1980, for the first time in its history. A loss of 77,313 inhabitants was detected after an intercensal survey in 1985.⁴² Yet the size of this area is only 478 km², smaller than some cities' surfaces (among them Chicago and New York). Its behavior is that of a single city and it may be profitably compared to that of American cities.

If we look now at the evolution of cities (Table 7 and Figure 8) differences arise immediately. All selected American cities present a quick growth up to 1930 and, after the Great Recession decade, again to 1950. This is the peak point for all of them (except for New York, that reached the same population again in 1970). Therefore, all Northeastern American cities have experienced a

long declining period, with significant population decrease (New York city lost 727,215 inhabitants between 1950 and 1985, Chicago, 628,490, Baltimore 186,138, Philadelphia 424,892 and Washington 179,178). The city of Barcelona only began to lose population after 1980 (some 50,815 inhabitants between 1980 and 1985) although it was stabilized from 1970. The graphic shows a continuous increase of population up to 1970, similar to that experienced by American cities from 1890 to 1930. The peak point seems to be placed fifty years after, in 1980, in the case of Barcelona. Whether the decline will continue or not during the rest of the century depends obviously on the persistence of changes that have taken place in the economic system and that have led an entire cycle to an end in the mid-seventies. The experience of Northeastern American cities in their 1930-1980 declining period may be in that sense a reference to metropolitan Barcelona, in the understanding of all neatly distinctive circumstances in which each specific city has emerged and developed.

4.4 Spatial patterns compared

The most distinctive characteristics of the American city have been shortly discussed in 2.2, highlighting the emergence of suburbs as the living environment of middle and upper-income social classes, the poorest classes being trapped in defined sections of the inner city.

Table 8 shows that suburbs still continue growing in population. All selected cities, except Boston, had a significant growth rate in their suburban rings between 1970 and 1980 (Dow Jones and Irwin, 1984). Decline of central cities is also shown, presenting approximately the same rate in four cities: Baltimore (-13.1), Boston (-12.2), Philadelphia (-13.4) and Washington (-15.6), through the same decade. Evolution of inner-city or downtown areas is rather difficult to know, due to the inexistence of such a unit to statistical purposes.

But it is known their population has been continuously decreasing at a faster rate than that of the city as a whole. Manhattan, for example had its highest population in 1910 (about 2.20 million) quickly reduced to 1.87 million in 1920, and 1.42 in 1980. (See Ford, 1936, and U.S. Department of Commerce, 1985).

In Barcelona, we can distinguish three relevant areas to study its demographic evolution. They roughly correspond to the downtown area (Central Districts), the rest of the city (Peripheral Districts) and the rest of the metropolitan area (Outer cities). Table 9 shows the figures in 1950 and in 1980. Central districts are losing population from about the mid 1960s while peripheral districts have been stabilized from 1970. Metropolitan municipalities outside Barcelona are still growing, but at a slower rate since 1975. Note in Table 8 differences of rates between Barcelona and American cities, 1970-1980, in total growth, central city (c.c) and suburbs (s.) Here central city (c.c.) includes Central and Peripheral Districts (that is to say, the whole city of Barcelona).

The Barcelona metropolitan area increased its population in about one and a half million inhabitants in that thirty years (1950-1980), but more than one million settled in municipalities other than Barcelona itself. Notwithstanding, the city center still keeps 386,636 inhabitants, and the whole city 1,752,627 (in a surface of only 99,31 km²). That means that downtown Barcelona has at present about ten times the population of downtown Baltimore or downtown Philadelphia. Therefore, densities are extremely different even considering the whole city. While the density of Barcelona is nearly 175 inhabitants per hectare, this index comes down to 37.83 in Baltimore and 47.92 in Philadelphia (other cities have similar values as well: Washington 39.30; Boston 46.02, Chicago, 50.87; and even New York, with its 780,82 km² has a density of only 90.56 inhabitants per hectare)

As it has also been pointed out before, inner cities are the areas that concentrate the majority of jobs; the "commented-upon" tendencies to employment deconcentration in metropolitan areas threaten that supremacy (Muller, 1976) and may imply a general shift of the prevailing spatial pattern. The city of Baltimore had a total of 358,623 jobs in 1985, that corresponded to 196,995 people living within the city limits (51.99%) and 180,964 living in the Baltimore region (47.76%), plus other 933 living in other places (Maryland Department of Economics and Community Development, 1986-87). A trustworthy estimate manifestly shows a loss in the number of jobs placed in central cities, whereas the overall figure in metropolitan areas is generally growing (see Table 10). The only exception is Washington, D.C., due to federal and local government employment specific weight. It is also worth noting the falling figures in Manhattan - the only available figures in an inner-city area - going together with decreasing values in New York city and even in New York's MSA. In all cases, losses in manufacturing and wholesale trade are conclusive.⁴³

The number of jobs is 651,013 in Barcelona city (about 269,141 in downtown) and 251,739 in the remainder metropolitan area. This is a total of 902,752 jobs, with a distribution of 29.8%, 42.3% and 27.9% in those three areas (Metropolitan Corporation of Barcelona, 1985). People working and living in the city represent 59.8% of total (13.3% in downtown area), but this index is closer to 100% if we consider the whole metropolitan area, with a surface fourteen times smaller than that of Baltimore metropolitan region.

The growth of Barcelona has clearly come to an end recently and therefore a new scene, characterized by slackening rates, is on the horizon; but the city, having similar concentrations of jobs and activities in its center to that of American cities, keeps substantially more permanent residents. It is clear that

the new urban context that emerges from those general changes must lead to a review of planning methods and strategies.

4.5. Urban planning in the eighties: scope and focus

The social and economic changes related above have drawn a new urban panorama. A new context arises in Barcelona after a period of fast growth, as it also came into view to American cities after they stopped growing. In spite of the structural differences that may be adduced, a common consequence is to be studied in the concern of planning. It is that of a shift in both the way in which planners look at the city and in the modes of operation proposed.⁴⁴

In point of fact, the role of urban planning is not the same in the eighties as it was twenty or even ten years ago: surprisingly, it seems to move toward the same focus and similar forms of intervention in both American and European cities. We can summarize the new attitude and the present scope of planning in our contemporary urban context as follows.

a) First of all, planning is operating in most cases in an urban scale basis - that of a single city or a group of cities - that is always smaller than the size of the actual conurbation or continuously urbanized area in which urban problems can be apprehended. This is also true for Barcelona (CMB) and other European cities. Therefore, it would be a less comprehensive metropolitan (regional) planning either in America or Europe, although some specific issues or functions may be separately organized or planned. This tendency, already in progress in America from a long time ago, is observed in Europe as well in the 1980s. It is clearly linked to the local government structure in metropolitan areas (see 3.3): the recent removal of the Greater London Council (G.L.C.) or the Corporacio Metropolitana de Barcelona (C.M.B.) do confirm the general lack of interest in comprehensive planning affecting areas larger than a city.

Comprehensiveness and coordination, if necessary, should have to search for newer ways and accomodate to political circumstances.⁴⁵

b) This puts forward the theoretical question of the scales of treatment of urban problems. As far as the consideration of a city alone - a central city of a metropolitan area - is not enough to treat and solve a large set of its problems, for many of them have their origin outside its own limits, planning will have to take into account different scales of treatment and operation. The simultaneity of use of them inside city-scale planning is therefore an important challenge towards proper coordination between broad policies and specific projects, that will indirectly affect larger areas.⁴⁶ Simulating correspondence, or agreement, with metropolitan or regional interests could be a constricted outlook for planning, but in any case capability of enduring a common direction will be threatened by institutional and political structures of local government.

c) In that way, a revival of regional planning on an advisory basis may be expected. It appeared in some American cities as a substitute for metropolitan governments when they evidenced their failure to succeed. This means limited plans both in their scope and in their power to carry out what they propose or simply suggest, for they will lack the administrative framework capable to bear them. Therefore they will tend to focus on specific issues - transportation is the paradigm -that accumulate stronger pressures.⁴⁷ In Barcelona, a reinforcement of the Metropolitan Region (MR) concept is now getting underway: but this area will never get a political recognition other than in advisory council terms. This will probably constrain the plan to a generic formulation of economic, social and welfare objectives.

d) On the other hand, the continuously slackening demographic rates and new changes in housing and employment location in the area of Barcelona, have resulted in an increasing attention to the existing city. After a period of explosive growth from 1950 through 1975, the city has come to rest. The after-growth situation favors looking back and assess what has been done. In that way, urban planning has become more interested in rehabilitation of old neighborhoods and neglected structures than in new developments or in urban renewal. That represents a major change in issues: from "new towns" to integrated renovation, from new housing areas to neighborhood rehabilitation, from mega-structures to urban improvement. Even new developments consider carefully their insertion in the existing city or their relationship with other interventions. In Europe as in America, the new and the old seem to approximate their values or, at least, increase their mutual respect.

e) The preceding factors are defining a new trend in planning methodology. It is that of bringing into focus a selected set of strategic urban actions related to each other. They try to implement a more general plan for the city.⁴⁸ Though land-use zoning plans are in operation, they have changed their meaning. General zoning regulations - controlling land use, densities and other indexes - are becoming independent of planning itself. Thus, the main direction of a plan is contained better in a series of coordinated urban projects rather than in the zoning map. These projects are supposed to be more effective in order to control qualitative aspects, whereas responsibility of regulating or checking current operations has been left to zoning. In the United States, the evolution of zoning - the criticisms it underwent and the process which went towards modifying its function - is worth to be known in detail, from its origins in Manhattan to the undervalued, merely technical instrument that it is today.⁴⁹

Needless to say, all this bears not much likeness to traditional land-use planning. This is not neglected, but overcome. Addressing a selected array of issues and adopting better defined goals, planners are trying to be more effective in the decision making process, and more influential in their attempt to improve the living conditions of the citizens. The new approach has been assumed both in America and Europe, but in two rather different ways. While in America it is taking on the form of urban policies that are economically and socially biased, in Europe it largely trusts in physical actions upon the fabric of the city.

f) Planning being more a series of proposals dealing with the shape of the existing city rather than an instrument to control its growth, it may be understood as a general project. This has three consequences:

- 1) A project must be implemented, so that drawing a plan for the city would mean defining its schedule of operation as well. Therefore, that would make planners more committed to carry out their ideas and so increment their effectiveness.
- 2) Proposals are to be carried into effect within a reasonable term. Otherwise they would lose their credibility as a means of having a direct effect on the city. Planning must seize on its proposals and take the initiative. In that way, planning is becoming an executive instrument to operate in the short or medium-term.
- 3) Planning should deal in depth with the formal environment of the city. Instead of the formulations of the 1960s, in which planning seemed to be restricted to produce abstract standards or generic regulations, new plans are strongly committed to deal with the physical shape of the city.

Recent experience of urban planning in Barcelona and its metropolitan area during the last ten years of democratic government indicates a change in that direction. The new urban context requires a strong shift in modes of operation. Planning is shaping the city in a different way, involving a program of coordinated actions in strategic spots. New circumstances, like the designation of the city to hold the Olympic Games in 1992, will make even stronger the commitment to carry ideas into effect. A short-term period is now clearly defined by this event, challenging our capacity to impact the city positively.

5. CONCLUSION

Europe is keenly following the developments currently sweeping urban America. The shift to a service economy, a fast decentralization, and deregulation, leading to new localization models, sharper competition between regions, and between cities in attracting people, activity, and money, brings about a new urban dynamic, different behaviors in local politicians and administrators and also a rather queer urban imagery. It is forcing a change in planning that, even if not thoroughly undertaken everywhere, may be detected from a diverse assortment of facts. A change that entails a new attitude towards the city.

I have tried to review the major features that demonstrate the structural transformation of the American city in the eighties. Compared to Barcelona's own evolution, I have found some analogies in the general processes and a possible transfer of tendencies that are operating in quite distinct urban backgrounds.

This is the essential fact: the weight of the city's heritage is so heavy in Barcelona (and other European cities) that it may substantially bias the effects that equal, or similar, processes are producing in the American case. And even when we agree that a certain convergence in theoretical criteria for planning may be occurring, it is still clear that practical approaches are considerably different. Thus, there is more implicit comprehensiveness and there is more concern with the form - the entire form - of the city in the European urban policies. On the contrary, American cities have a shorter tradition of physical planning and appear more vulnerable to economic adjustments. But, however the circumstances may differ, a thorough image of the future of the city - a social idea of the city - remains a necessity to enable and assess every program of policies or projects.

TABLES

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985
U.S. Population	91,9	105,7	122,7	132,1	151,2	179,3	203,3	226,5	238,7
Percent change		14,9	16,1	7,2	14,5	18,5	13,3	11,4	5,4
MSAs Population	48,9	62,2	80,0	86,8	105,4	133,0	155,8	172,3	180,0
Percent change		27,1	28,6	8,5	21,4	26,2	17,1	10,5	6,2
Percent of U.S.	53,2	58,8	65,2	65,7	69,6	74,1	76,6	76,0	75,4
Non MSAs Population	43,0	43,5	42,7	45,3	45,8	46,3	47,5	54,2	58,7
Percent change		1,2	-1,8	6,0	1,1	1,1	2,6	14,1	8,3
Percent of U.S.	46,8	41,2	34,8	34,3	30,4	25,9	23,4	24,0	24,6

Table 1. United States metropolitan and nonmetropolitan population.

- Notes:
- (1) All figures expressed in thousands.
 - (2) "Percent change" expresses percent change over previous year shown.
 - (3) Till 1940, "MSAs" as defined by U.S. Bureau of the Census for urban-rural areas (Statistical Abstracts of the United States yearbook)
 - (4) From 1950 to 1985, "MSAs" as defined in June 30, 1985 (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, Bureau of the Census)

Decade	Population Growth Rate Of Cities	Population Growth Rate Of Suburbs	Percent Total SMSA Growth In Cities	Percent Total SMSA Growth In Suburbs	Suburban Growth Per 100 Increase In Central City
1900-1910	37,1	23,6	72,1	27,9	38,7
1910-1920	27,7	20,0	71,6	28,4	39,6
1920-1930	24,3	32,3	59,3	40,7	68,5
1930-1940	5,6	14,6	41,0	59,0	144,0
1940-1950	14,7	35,9	40,7	59,3	145,9
1950-1960	10,7	48,5	23,8	76,2	320,3
1960-1970	5,3	28,2	4,4	95,6	2.153,1

Table 2. Relative percentages of urban population growth, 1900-1970.
Source: Muller, P.O., 1976

Metropolis	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
New York	32,2	32,4	33,8	36,2	36,1	38,9	47,3	51,2
Chicago	18,5	19,1	20,4	24,1	25,7	30,1	42,9	51,8
Philadelphia	31,6	31,7	32,8	37,8	39,6	43,6	53,9	59,6
Detroit	33,1	24,1	23,9	28,0	31,7	38,7	55,6	64,0
Washington	26,4	25,7	23,5	27,6	31,5	46,8	63,2	73,6
Boston	57,5	58,1	60,0	64,0	65,1	66,8	73,1	76,7
Pittsburgh	58,3	63,7	66,6	66,9	67,7	69,4	74,9	78,3
Baltimore	26,2	27,5	18,7	22,4	24,6	34,8	47,9	56,3
Cleveland	17,2	15,1	18,0	27,6	30,7	40,3	54,1	63,6

Table 3. Suburban percentage of total SMSA population, 1900-1970.
Source: Muller, P.O., 1976

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1985
MSAs Population	48,9	62,2	80,0	86,8	105,4	133,0	155,8	172,3	180,0
Central cities	35,2	44,1	53,9	56,7	64,6	73,4	72,3	72,2	74,4
Percent change		25,2	22,3	5,1	13,9	13,6	-1,5	-0,1	3,0
Suburbs	13,7	18,1	26,1	30,1	40,8	59,6	83,5	100,1	105,6
Percent change		32,0	44,0	15,1	35,6	46,1	40,1	19,8	5,5

Table 4. Distribution of population inside MSAs: central city (ies) and suburbs.

Notes: (1) All figures expressed in thousands.

(2) "Percent change" expresses percent change over previous year shown.

	City	Metropolitan Area		
Boston	122,24	PMSA 4.538	CMSA 8.022	
Washington	169,39	SMSA 10.248		
Baltimore	207,97	SMSA 6.783		
Detroit	351,20	PMSA 11.642	CMSA 13.480	
Philadelphia	352,23	PMSA 9.147	CMSA 13.858	
Chicago	590,77	PMSA 4.923	CMSA 14.659	
New York	780,87	PMSA 2.968	CMSA 19.834	
Barcelona	99,31	CMB 478	MR 3.297	

Table 5. Size of cities and metropolitan areas: Barcelona and U.S.Northeastern cities.

Notes: (1) All figures in square Km.

(2) PMSAs, SMSAs and CMSAs as defined by U.S.Bureau of the Census, 1985.

(3) CMB as created in 1974 and MR as defined in 1968.

	New York	Chicago	Philadelphia	Detroit	Washington	Boston	Baltimore	Barcelona
1940	11.660.839	4.825.527	3.199.637	2.337.329	967.985	2.177.621	1.083.300	
1950	12.911.994	5.495.364	3.660.676	2.973.019	1.457.601	2.354.507	1.320.754	1.545.308
1960	10.694.633	6.220.913	4.342.897	3.762.360	2.001.897	2.595.481	1.727.023	2.006.948
1970	9.076.568	6.093.287	4.824.110	4.554.266	3.040.307	2.887.191	2.089.438	2.713.797
1980	8.274.961	6.060.401	4.716.559	4.488.024	3.250.489	2.805.911	2.199.497	3.096.748
1985	8.376.865	6.128.282	4.768.388	4.315.751	3.429.613	2.820.700	2.244.677	3.019.435

Table 6 . Population of metropolitan areas: Barcelona and U.S.Northeastern cities.
 Sources: U.S.Bureau of the Census and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.
 Note: Population of Barcelona is referred to CMB area.

	New York	Chicago	Philadelphia	Detroit	Washington	Boston	Baltimore	Barcelona
1890	2.507.414	1.099.850	1.046.964	205.876	230.392	448.477	434.439	
1900	3.437.202	1.698.575	1.293.697	285.704	278.718	560.892	508.957	533.000
1910	4.766.883	2.185.283	1.549.008	465.766	331.069	670.585	558.485	587.411
1920	5.620.048	2.701.705	1.823.779	993.678	437.571	748.060	733.826	710.335
1930	6.930.446	3.376.438	1.950.961	1.568.662	486.869	781.188	804.874	1.005.565
1940	7.454.995	3.396.808	1.931.334	1.623.452	663.091	770.816	859.100	1.081.175
1950	7.891.957	3.620.962	2.071.605	1.849.568	802.178	801.444	949.708	1.280.179
1960	7.781.984	3.550.404	2.002.512	1.670.144	763.956	697.197	939.024	1.557.863
1970	7.896.000	3.369.357	1.949.996	1.514.063	756.668	641.071	905.787	1.745.142
1980	7.071.639	3.005.072	1.688.210	1.203.339	638.000	562.994	786.741	1.752.627
1985	7.164.742	2.992.472	1.646.713		623.000		763.570	1.701.812

Table 7. Population of cities: Barcelona and U.S. Northeastern cities.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

	Baltimore	Boston	Philadelphia	Washington	Detroit	Barcelona
MSA 1980	2.174.023	2.763.357	4.716.818	3.060.922	4.353.413	3.096.748
Central city(ies)	786.775	562.994	1.688.210	638.333	1.203.339	1.752.627
Suburbs	1.387.248	2.200.363	3.028.608	2.422.589	3.150.074	1.344.121
MSA 1970	2.071.016	2.899.101	4.824.110	2.910.111	4.435.051	2.713.797
Central city(ies)	905.787	641.071	1.949.946	756.668	1.514.063	1.745.142
Suburbs	1.165.229	2.258.030	2.874.114	2.153.443	2.920.988	968.655
1970-1980 total	5,0	-4,7	-2,2	5,2	-1,8	14,11
c.c.	-13,1	-12,2	-13,4	-15,6	-20,5	0,42
s.	19,1	-2,6	5,4	12,5	7,8	38,76

Table 8. Population and growth rates in cities and suburbs: Barcelona and U.S. Northeastern MSAs.
Sources: Dow Jones and Irwin, 1984, and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

Baltimore city	1978	454.300	Baltimore MSA	1950	529.400
	1980	461.300		1960	629.000
	1982	433.400		1970	805.500
				1982	928.300
Washington D.C.	1940	362.900	Washington MSA	1950	592.400
	1950	497.300		1960	745.700
	1960	501.600		1970	1.184.600
	1970	566.700		1982	1.592.100
	1982	595.800			
Philadelphia city	1970	920.400	Philadelphia MSA	1952	1.474.800
	1982	754.500		1960	1.500.900
				1970	1.793.200
				1982	1.898.000
New York City	1953	3.524.100	New York MSA	1960	3.810.100
	1960	3.538.400		1970	4.120.600
	1970	3.745.500		1982	3.803.000
	1982	3.350.700			
(Manhattan)	1960	1.580.200			
	1970	1.253.100			
	1982	590.600			

Table 10. Employment in cities and metropolitan areas.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1984

FIGURES

	1950	1980	1950-1980
Central Districts (Old city and Ensanche)	550.000	386.636	-163.394
Peripheral Districts	730.149	1.365.991	+635.842
Outer cities	265.129	1.344.121	+1.078.992
Total Metropolitan Area (Barcelona-CMB)	1.545.308	3.096.748	+1.551.440

Table 9. Distribution of population in Barcelona-CMB, 1950-1980.
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

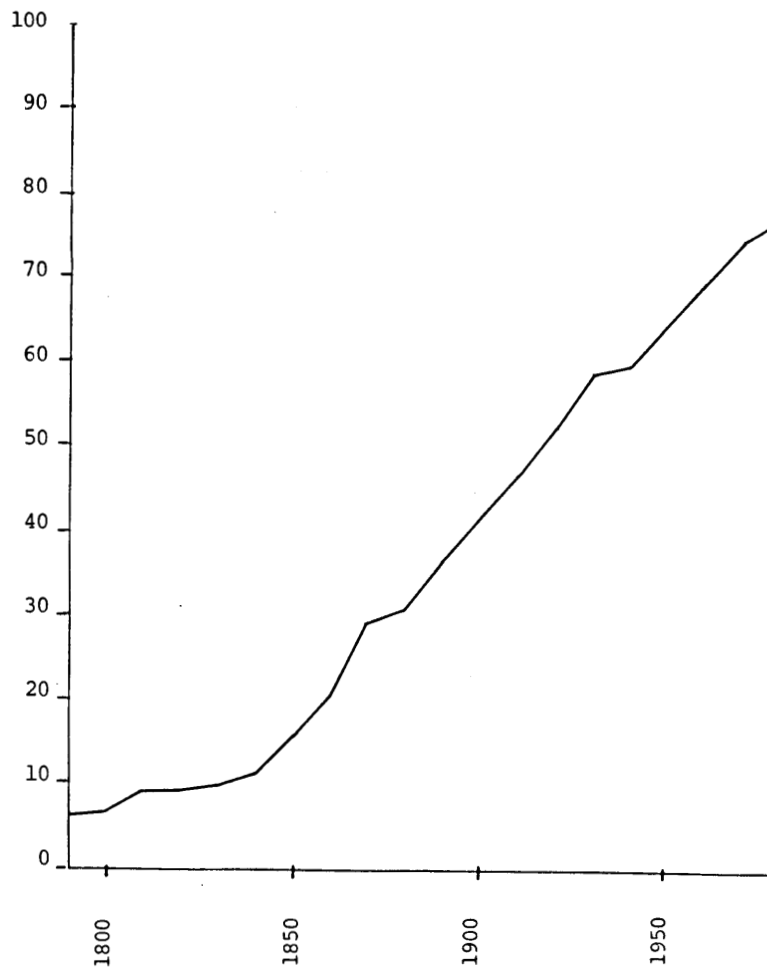


Figure 1. Urbanization in the United States, 1790-1980: percentage of total population living in towns larger than 2,500 people at each decennial Census.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

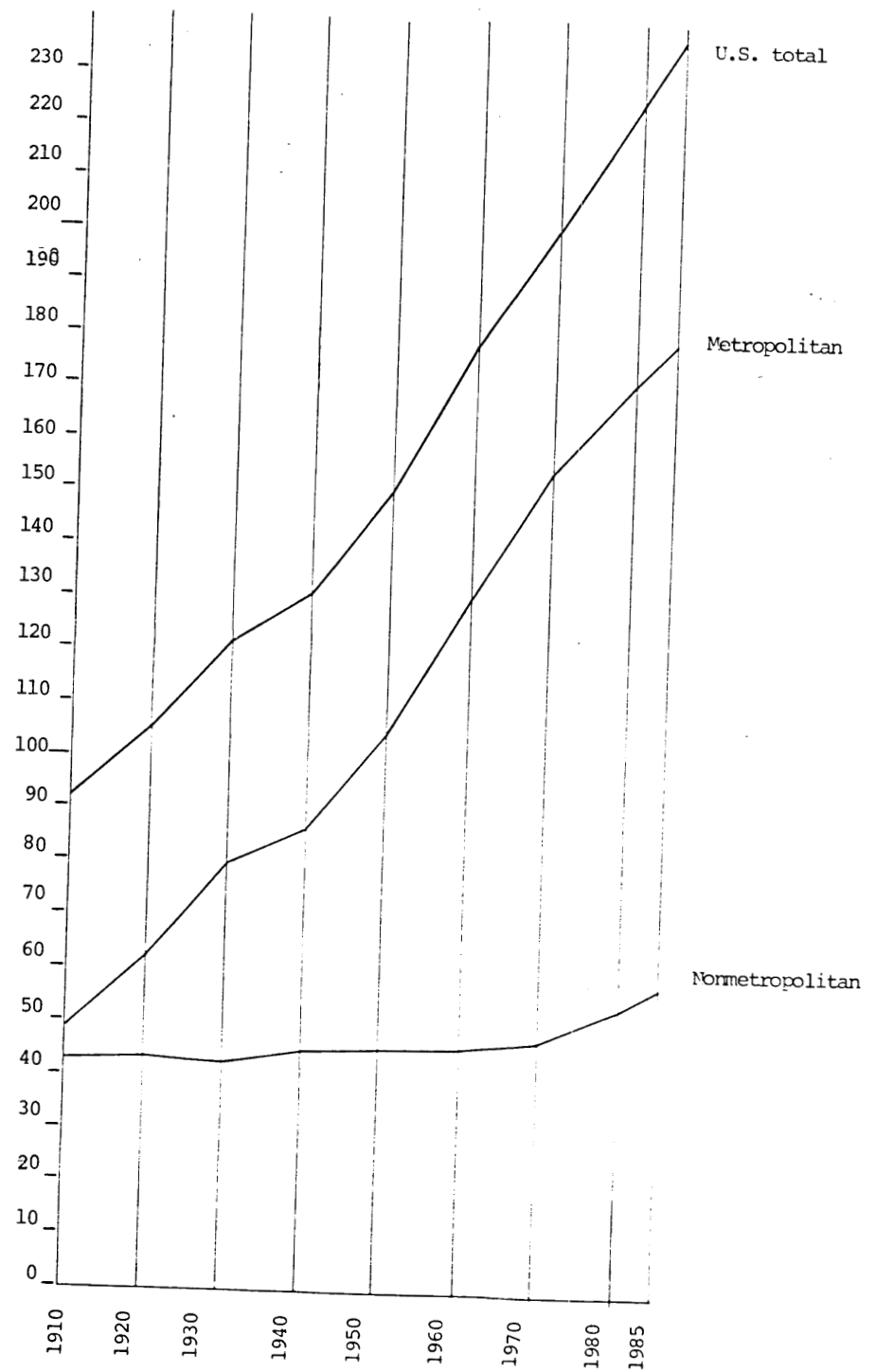


Figure 2. Metropolitan and nonmetropolitan population in the United States, 1910-1985.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

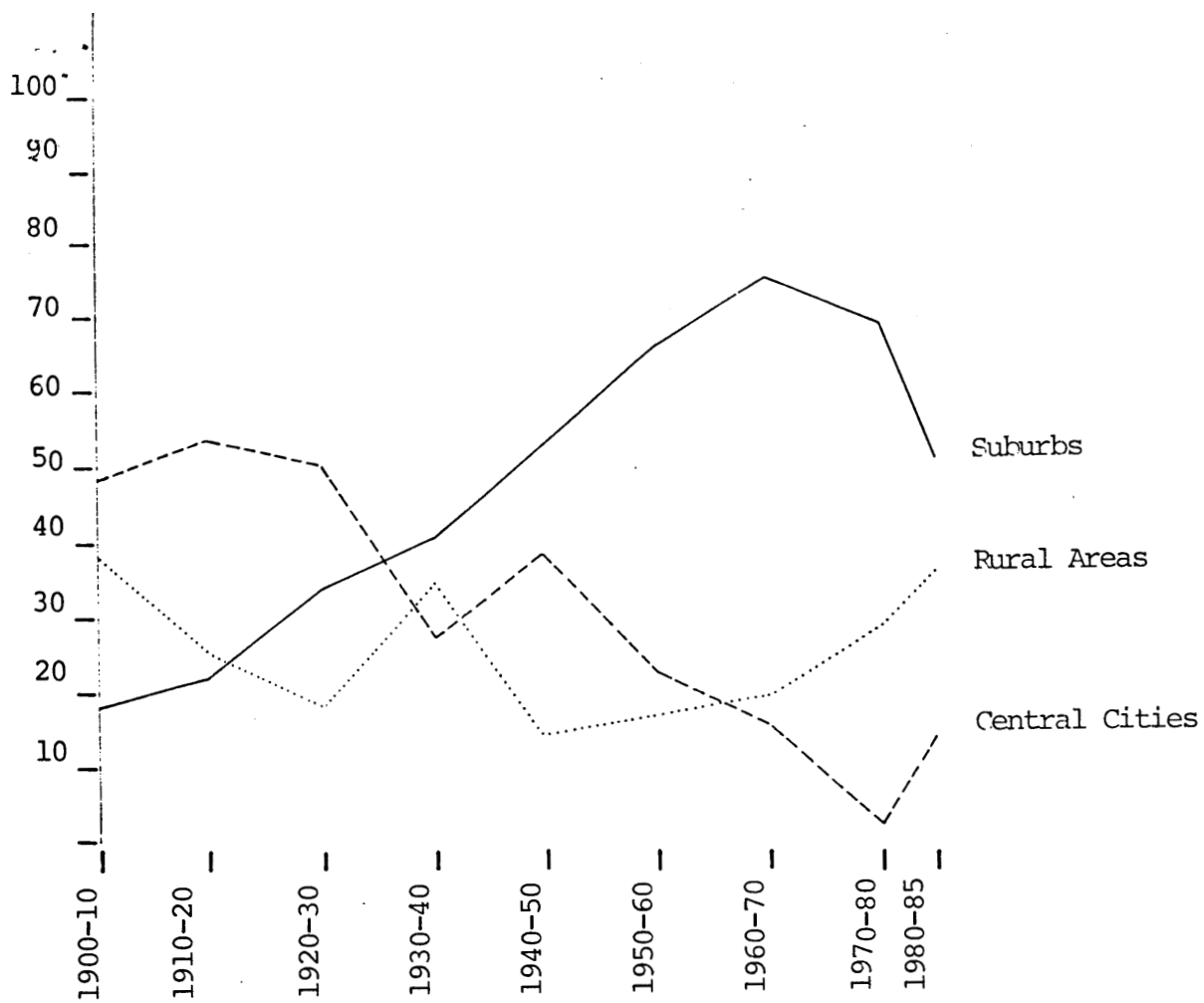


Figure 3. Percentage share of total United States population change, 1900-1985.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census and Muller, 1976 (1970 to 1985 updated figures computed by the author). See also Downs, A., 1973.

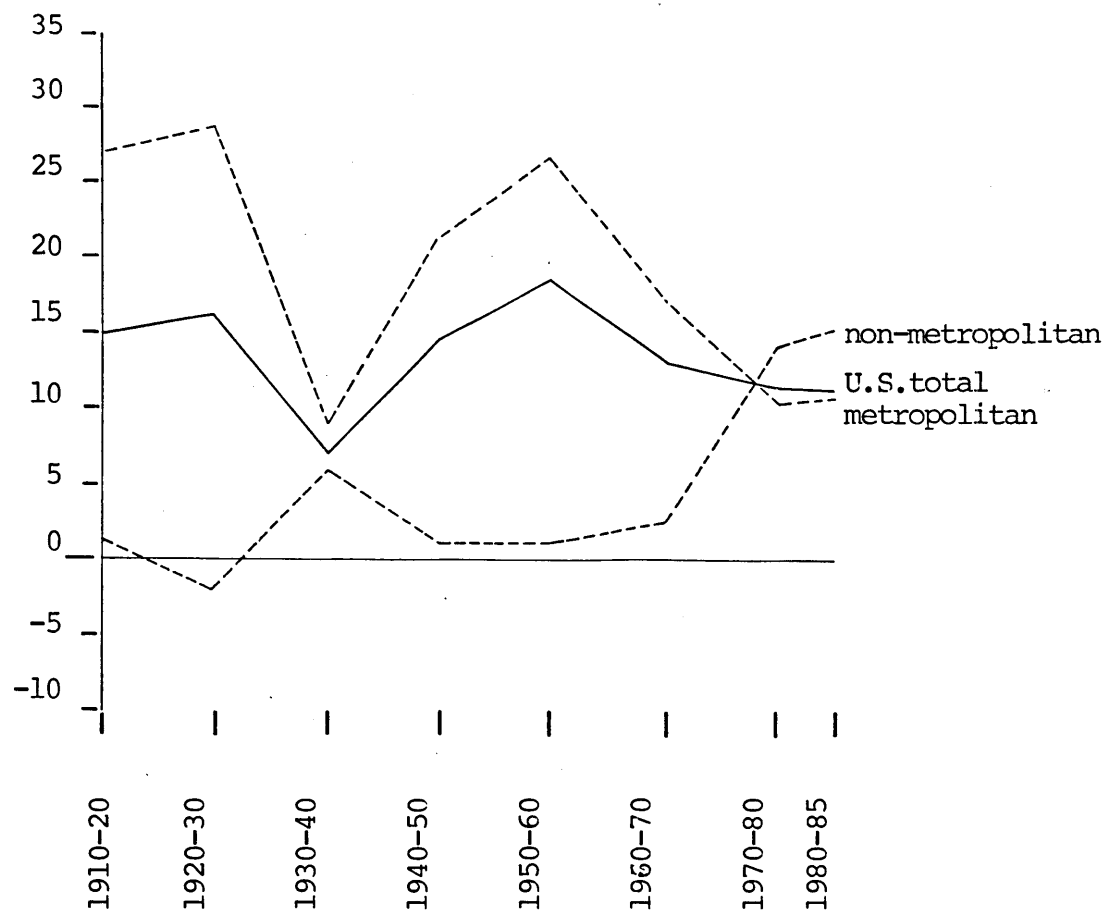


Figure 4. Population growth rates in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, 1910-1985.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS(CMSA's, PMSA's, and MSA's)
 Areas defined by U.S. Office of Management and Budget, June 30, 1985

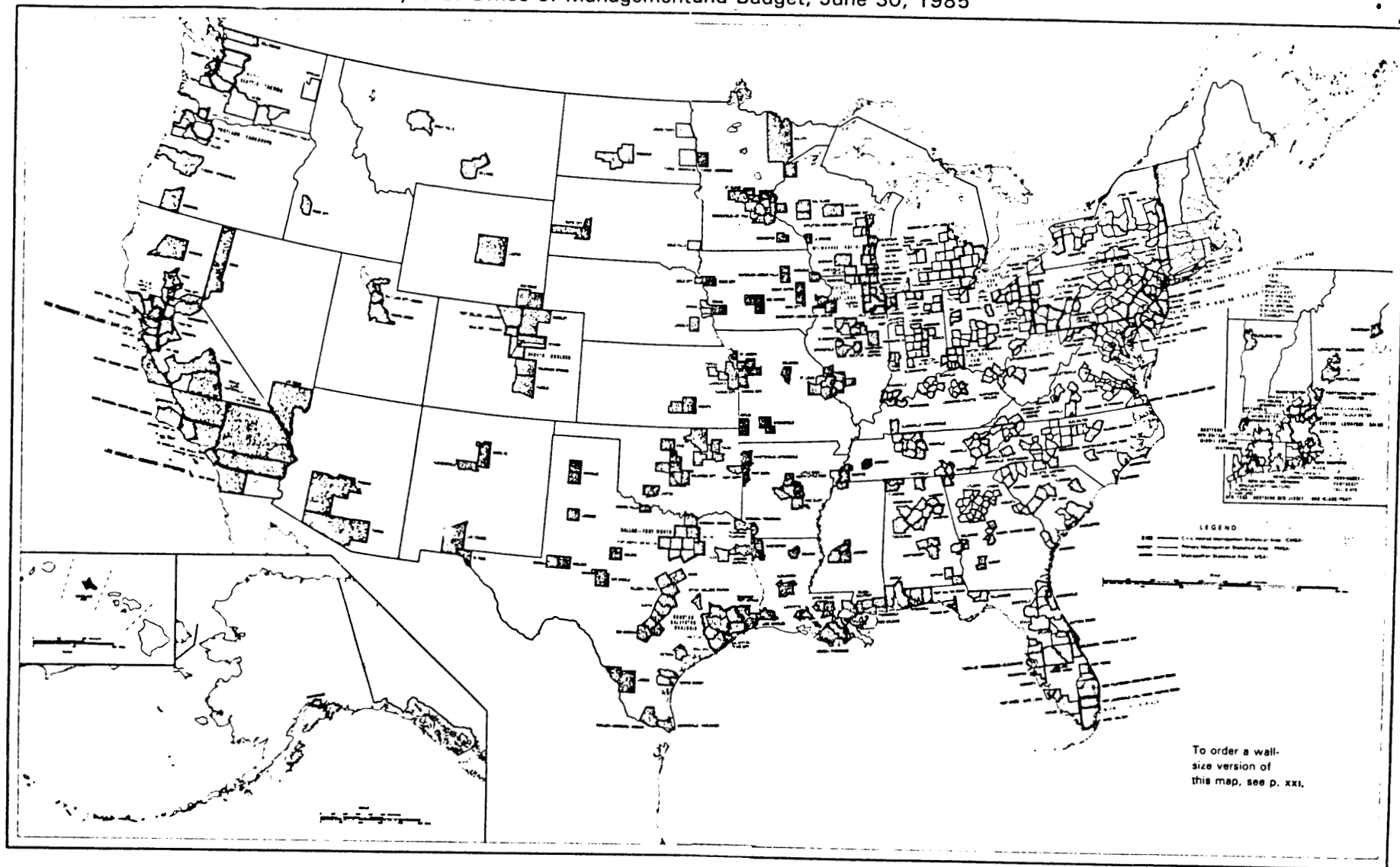


Figure 5. Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 1985.

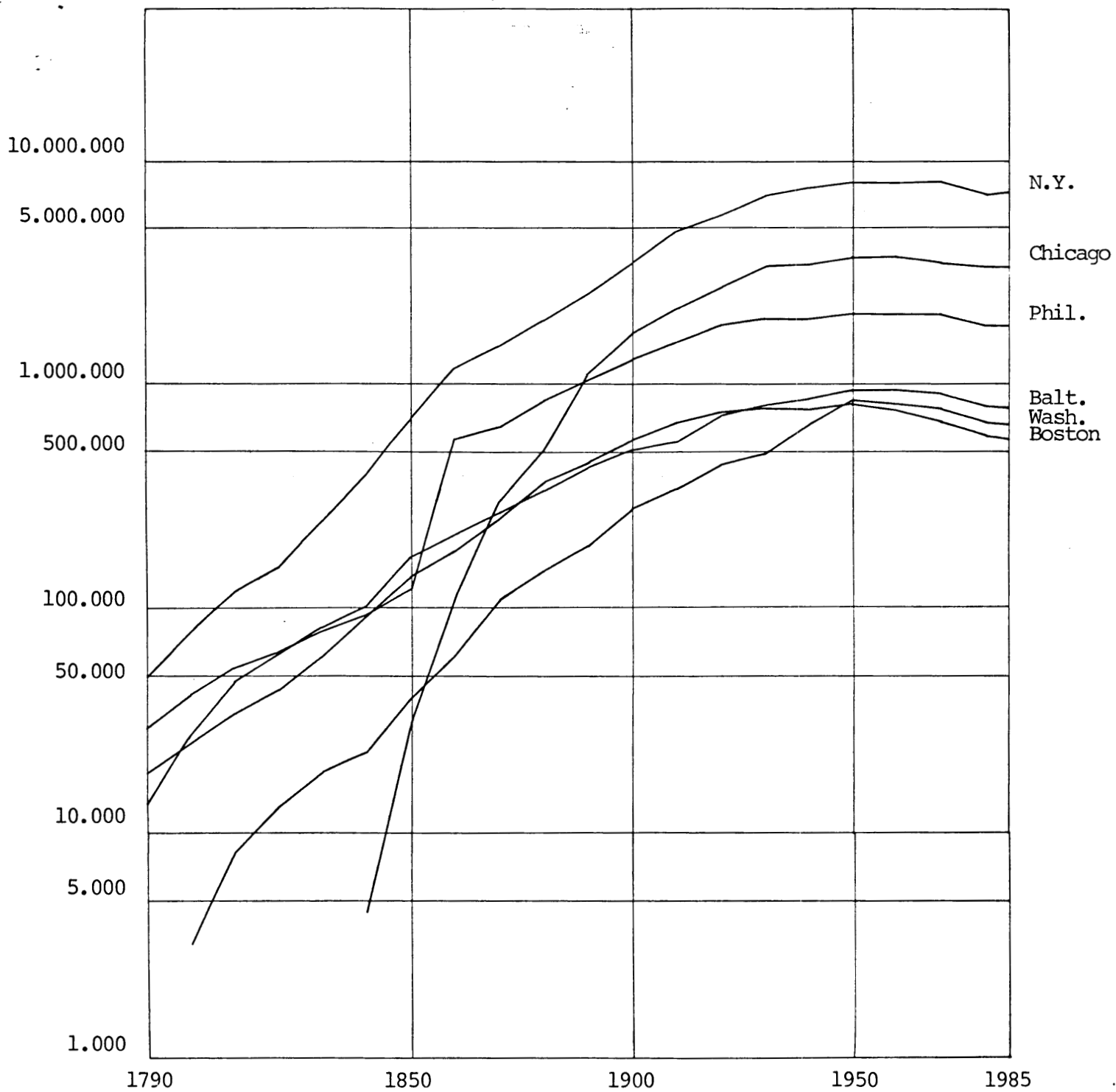


Figure 6. Central cities population, 1790-1985.
 Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census and Abler P. and Adams J.S., 1976.

Figure 7. Barcelona (CMB and MR) and U.S. Northeastern SMSAs population, 1940-1985
 Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census and Instituto Nacional de Estadística

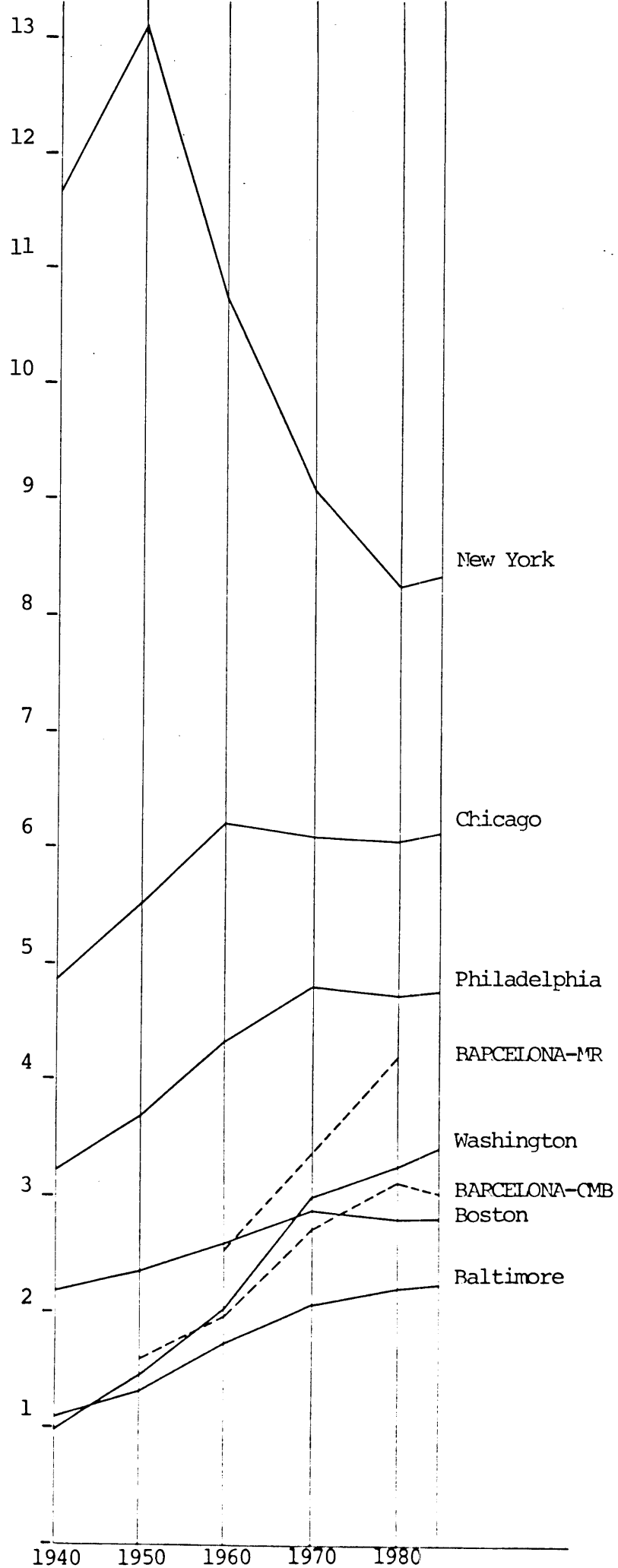
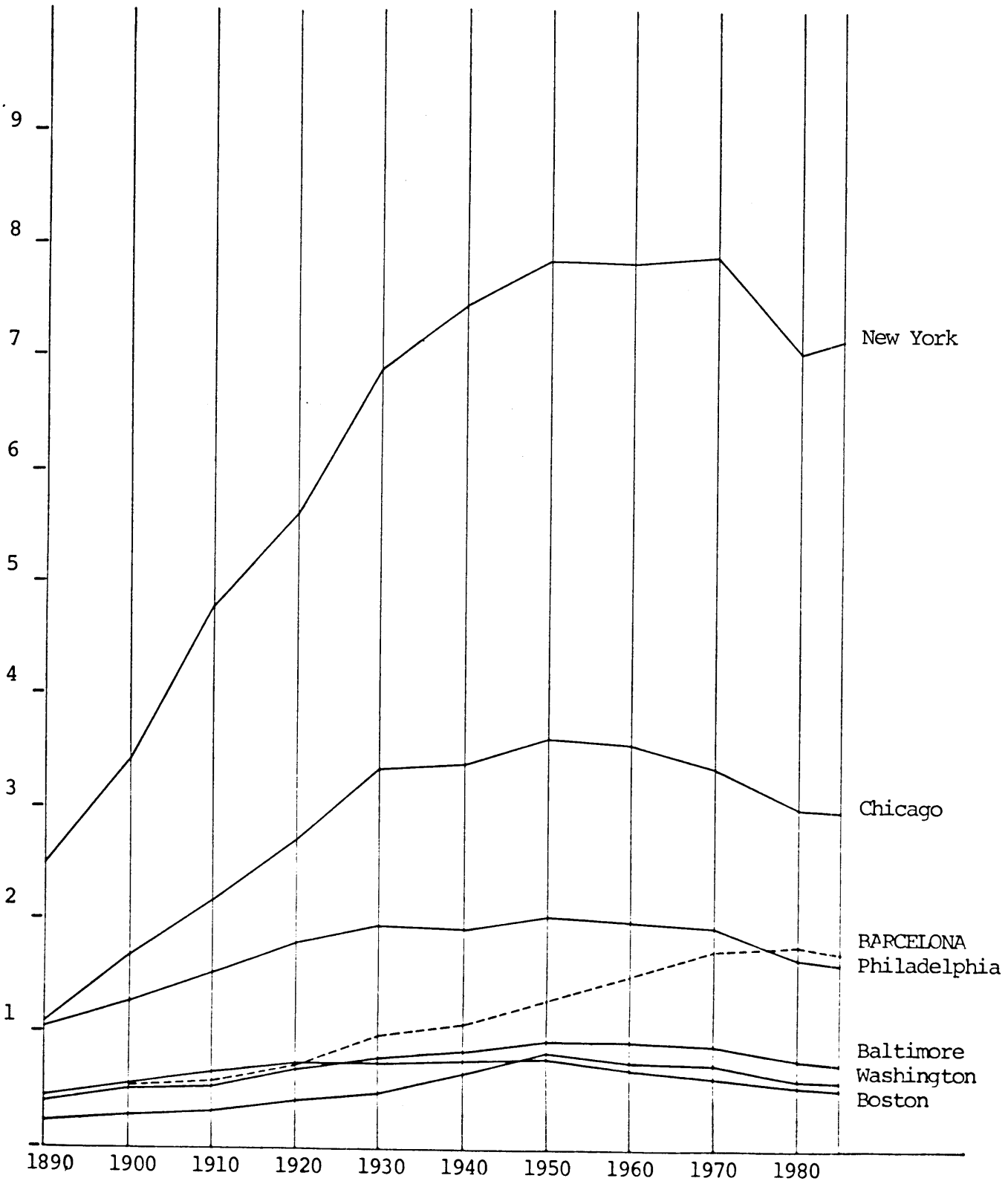


Figure 8. Barcelona and U.S. Northeastern cities population, 1890-1985.
 Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census and Instituto Nacional de Estadística.



FOOTNOTES

1. A general history of metropolitan culture, involving all facets (urban life, arts, politics, urban planning and architecture, etc.), may be found in Sutcliffe, A., 1984. The book is divided in four sections:

- Part 1: Introduction
- Part 2: The Metropolis Portrayed and Understood
- Part 3: The Metropolis Experienced and Planned
- Part 4: The Metropolis Moves Forward.

2. That is the evaluation of Wood, E.E., 1940, who continues: "Some idea of the centralization involved may be gained from reflecting that of the more than 3.000 counties in the United states, the 155 containing the larger industrial cities in 1929 included 74 percent of all industrial wage earners and 81 percent of all salaried employees, and were responsible for 80 percent of the value added to manufactured products".

3. See McKelvey, B.: The Emergence of Metropolitan America, 1915-1966, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, 1968, which contains a history of metropolitan cities: 1. The emergence of metropolitan dilemmas: 1915-1920, 2. An outburst of metropolitan initiative: 1920-1929, 3. The discovery of metropolitan inadequacy: 1930-1939, 4. The metropolis in war and peace: 1940-1949, 5. The metropolis and the "establishment": 1950-1959 and 6. Federal metropolitan convergence in the 1960's

4. "The mushrooming cities of America had begun by 1915 to assume a new shape, to acquire new civic responsibilities and to develop new interrelationships. The new shape is inescapable, as many observers testified. Most of the larger cities, more than two score in number, were sprawling horizontally, enveloping neighboring towns in ever-extending suburban ranges; at the same time each was sprouting a stem of towering skyscrapers at the center. Internally these inverted mushrooms faced, in addition to a host of traditional urban problems, a series of new crises in planning and housing, in employment and welfare, and most critical of all, in the absorption of a fresh wave of newcomers (....) Each of these developments and the problems they created were evident by the mid-teens. Thus a widespread housing shortage revived the search for responsible solutions and disclosed new planning dilemmas; sharp fluctuations in employment posed new challenges to public and private welfare; shifting population trends, coupled with new transport facilities, speeded the suburban migration and brought new problems to the central cores; mounting fiscal burdens in the aging metropolis spurred new efforts to broaden the tax base and precipitated legislative battles between the old cities and their suburban offspring. Intensified during the war years, these issues helped to awaken a new intellectual interest in the metropolis as the habitat of modern man and posed several crucial dilemmas for America during the next half century" (McKelvey, B., 1968).

5. "In short, four epochs in American history can be identified that have been characterized by changes in technology crucial in the location of urban growth and development: (1) Sail-Wagon, 1790-1830; (2) Iron Horse, 1830-1870; (3) Steel Rail, 1870-1920; (4) Auto-Air-Amenity, 1920- ". Borchert, J. R., 1967. See also Lampart, E. E., 1960 and Green, C. Mc., 1957.

6. "Un esame dei fattori e delle forze che hanno creato le basi dello sviluppo metropolitano negli Stati Uniti ne mette in evidenza, malgrado una apparente eterogeneità, le concordanze di direzione, si tratti della tradizione culturale o della mancanza di una pianificazione pubblica, dell'attenzione ai problemi dell'infanzia o delle politiche fiscali riguardanti la proprietà immobiliare". (...) "Il passaggio dagli impieghi agricoli a quelli non agricoli, la diminuzione delle ore lavorative con un conseguente aumento del tempo libero, il livello del reddito individuale, l'uso generalizzato dell'automobile, stili di vita sempre più simili e largamente influenzati dalle comunicazioni di massa, sono caratteri comuni a tutte le aree metropolitane." (Piccinato, 1976)

7. From 1860 to 1910, New York grew from 1,174,000 to 4,766,000 inhabitants, Philadelphia from 565,000 to 1,549,000, Baltimore from 212,000 to 558,000 and Chicago from 112,000 to 2,185,000

8. See, for example, the writings of Edith Elmer Wood (1919, 1920, 1923, 1931, 1935, 1940) or James Ford (1936), as well as the reports of the United States Housing Corporation, especially the one published in 1920.

9. Housing estates developed by federal or local housing authorities in cities as New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston and others, are documented in the reports of the United States Housing Corporation. See also James Ford, 1936 (New York), and Devereaux, 1978 (Chicago).

10. "Clarence Stein, chairman and most active member of the commission, (State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning, New York), took the lead in forming the City Housing Corporation in 1924 in which he joined with Henry Wright, a fellow architect, in a plan to build a housing project of high standards at minimum costs. Stein had helped the year before to organize an informal group sometimes called the Regional Planning Association of America, which drew into its circle such men as Lewis Mumford, Charles H. Whitaker, Clarence Perry, all writers and critics, as well as Alexander Bing, a realtor whose wealth and idealism made him an enthusiastic backer of Stein's model-housing projects. Stein and Wright journeyed to England in 1924 to see its famous garden cities and to confer with Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin, their principal founders. Unwin's oft-quoted precept, "Nothing gained by overcrowding", became the keystone of their plans as developed at Sunnyside in 1926 and at Radburn three years later" (McKelvey, 1968). See also Lubove, 1964.

11. Further reading about the origin of metropolitan America (period 1870-1920) may be obtained from general historical studies as Callow, 1973; Glaab and Brown, 1976; Goist, 1977; Klebanow, 1977; McKelvey, 1973 and Still, 1974.

12. See Dolce, 1976; Hall, 1984; Stilgoe, 1984, for a general review of suburb ideology and its implications to the American city.

13. Even during the Great Depression the suburban culture was alive: "The Great Depression slowed suburban growth of every kind and reawakened interest in backyard agriculture; the subsequent years of war-and particularly of gasoline rationing, further stymied suburban development. But throughout the thirties and forties city dwellers thought about suburbs, dreamed about suburbs and read about suburbs. And when the GIs came home, they set about moving to the suburbs"

(Stilgoe, 1986).

14. See, for example, Woodbury, C., 1953. The American City Journal published most of the places drawn up in the fifties (September, 1951; December, 1953; August, 1954; September 1956; November 1956; January, 1957).

15. For a good study of the urban renewal program in the United States see Abrams, 1965, specially Part II. "The Prescription-Urban Renewal", Chapters 5 to 10

16. Last trends in inner-city and downtown evolution can be studied in Baerwald, 1978; Cybriwsky, 1980; Berry, 1980, and Eversley, 1979.

17. Phillips and Brunn (1978) branded slow growth a "new Epoch" of American metropolitan evolution, ending Borchert's "Auto-Air-Amenity" Epoch in 1960s (see note 5)

18. Fitzsimmons, Borchert and Adams (1980), conclude that "a long-term shift in the lows of U.S. population growth passed a critical threshold in the 1970s when the nonmetropolitan growth rate surpassed that of the metropolitan sector. Interrregional migration flows showed a comparable degree of change. The flow of population from the rural South to the urban North dwindled and was replaced by a not counterflow to the booming regional centers and amenity areas of the South". See also the series of maps previously elaborated by the same team (1978)

19. Statistical Abstract of the United States, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1985.

20. See Section 4 of this paper.

21. In the period 1970-1980, the American economy generated about 19 million new jobs, ninety per cent of which were in the service sector.

22. Ever increasing in population: 23% in 1970 to 31% in 1980, as an overall index. (Balbo, 1985).

23. Only 2.8 people per family (and a great jump in the numbers of childless families) in 1980. The absence of children in one hand, and the female employment in other, may have consequences on the localization choice of the family unit (Balbo, 1985).

24. See U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1986.

25. See Federal Committee on Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 1981.

26. Introduced by the 1950 Census and updated at each subsequent decennial Census according to specific criteria.

27. Published in 1929 in two volumes: Volume 1. "The Graphic Regional Plan" and Volume 2 "The Building of the City" (See Adams, 1929)

28. See, for example, Baltimore's "General Development Plan", published by the Regional Planning Council in 1986.

29. See also Cottrell and Jones, 1955; Bollens, 1961; Baufield, 1961; and Comay, 1965.

30. I can still remember professor Jones defending the same thesis at 1982 O.C.D.E.'s Symposium on Metropolitan Areas, held in Madrid and Barcelona, Spain, forty years later.

31. "The dispersal of power (in the metropolitan area) renders the process of government one of endless committee-ing and negotiation, the proliferation of veto groups and the relinquishment of government to the hands of the full-time bureaucracies who alone have the time and functional requisites for the enterprise" (Long, 1965). See also Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (1961) and Levin (1967). And again, the same question faced by Mogulof, M. B. (1975)

32. Concerning the late development of Barcelona, a good deal of issues were discussed in the 15th International Fellow's Conference of the Johns Hopkins University, held in Barcelona in June, 1985. Under the general title: The future is before us! Is there a metropolitan policy? The case of Barcelona, papers presented at the conference included:

J. Busquets: "The main aims of urban transformation in Barcelona", and
A. Ferrer: "Barcelona: urban structure and metropolitan system"

33. Some of these questions are a major topic in recent debates. See, for example the August 1985 issue of Urbanistica (n.80), with the following contributions:

D. Cecchini and M. Marcelloni: "Centro e periferia della nuova citta in U.S.A."
E. W. Soja, A. D. Heskin and M. Cenzatti: "Los Angeles nel caleidoscopio della ristrutturazione"
M. Christine Boyer: "La rinascita del West Side: una storia di gentrification a New York"
D. Cecchini: "New York: la conversione funzionale"
M. Marcelloni: "San Francisco: il piano per la downtown"
F. Bandarin: "Zoning 1985: percorsi e direzione dell'urbanistica negli U.S.A."
T. J. Noyelle: "Lo sviluppo del terziario"
M. Balbo: "Come cambia l'America urbana"

See also the 1987 winter issue of the Journal of the American Planning Association, vol. 53, no. 1, that publishes some papers of a Symposium on "Strategic Planning."

34. More information on Barcelona, specifically on its metropolitan development and planning, can be reached in Martorell, V. (1970), Tarrago, Roca, and Massana (1972), Ajuntament de Barcelona (1983) and Bohigas O. (1983). The December, 1985 issue of L'Avenc includes qualified papers on the origin and evolution of

Barcelona's metropolitan area. See also my doctoral dissertation, Ferrer, A., 1983, La vivienda masiva y la formacion de la Barcelona metropolitana, ETSAB, Barcelona.

35. See Cerda, Ildefonso, 1867.

36. The Decree has just been approved by the Parliament of Catalunya in April 4, 1987 and published in the "Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya" no. 826, April 8, 1987.

37. See Corporacio Metropolitana de Barcelona, 1976, Plan General de Ordenacion Urbana y Territorial de la Comarca de Barcelona, especially "Memoria-2: Justificativa de la Ordenacion".

38. See Maragall, P., 1982 and 1985 with respect to the main political guidelines, and Angelet, J, 1985 for the finance and organization issues. The general objectives of the Metropolitan Corporation of Barcelona, 1985-1992, are defined in Corporacio Metropolitana de Barcelona, 1985.

See also Esteban, J. (1985) and Ferrer, A. (1986) with regard to current development of the General Metropolitan Plan.

39. The main ideas underlying the Barcelona's 1968 Plan Director Metropolitano were published in a special issue of Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo in 1972. That included a discussion on the size of the metropolis and a synthesis of criteria employed in its delimitation.

40. The "Pla de distribucio en zones del territori catala" (Regional Planning) adopted by the Generalitat de Catalunya in 1932 created the precedent. This was the first attempt to organize the Catalan territory in "comarcas". See Rubio i Tuduri, 1932.

41. See State and Metropolitan Area Data Book published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census in 1986, and precedent issues of it.

42. "Padron municipal", 1985, Instituto Nacional de Estadistica. Provisional figure.

43. See United States Department of Labor, Bureau of the Census: Employment, Hours and Earnings, States and Areas, 1939-1982

44. This is a discussion held in numerous forums. See, for example Burchell, R. and Sternlieb, G., 1978; Garvin, A., 1980; Healey P., McDougall, G. and Thomas, M., 1982; Baldarin, F., 1985; or the issues of the Journal of the American Planning Association in July, 1980, Spring, 1985 and Winter, 1987. See also Clavel, P., 1986.

45. The well-known Cleveland Policy Planning Report, 1975 was one of the first plans to understand its peculiar urban context: "The City of Cleveland is 97% developed. For better or worse, most of the key land use decisions were made fifty or one hundred years ago. Activity of all types is moving towards the suburbs. During the 1960s, Cleveland lost 14.3% of its population and 17.2% of its jobs. Residential abandonment is well under way in several neighborhoods.

In the City, disinvestment is the rule and investment the exception. Until some headway is made toward solving the root problems that are responsible for business and residential out-migration, an ambitious plan for controlling development is superfluous, at best. Without development, there is not need for development controls" (Krumholz, N., 1975)

About Cleveland City Planning see also Gans, H. J. (1975), Piven, F. F. (1975), Long, N. E. (1975) and Davidoff, P. (1975), all of them in the same September 1975 issue of the Journal of the American Institute of Planners. See also a reveiw in the spring 1982 issue of the same Journal.

The Cleveland Report was a reference for some other American cities that were trying to redefine and solve their problems in the 1970s. The Report is not a comprehensive plan. Rather, it deals with only some chosen areas (income, housing, transportation and community development) that were felt as the key ones, setting forth objectives, policies and recommendations in each of them.

46. This is one of the traditional questions of planning. In Europe, the model "Structure Plan" - "Local Plan" has been in operation for a long time. In spite of differences between countries, it is possible to state that, in general, plans of structure (regional or sub-regional level) have failed in having real incidence except for specific elements. The Metropolitan Plan of Barcelona, however, succeeded in providing some general structure to the 27 municipalities area. to be developed by a series of local or special plans focusing selected sections of the city. But the removal of the metropolitan government will result in a preeminence of city-based planning as the only level for direct action, which is mainly the situation in America.

47. See Regional Planning Council of Baltimore, 1986, as an example of a Development Plan in advisory bases. It deals with several major regional issues identified as "changing industrial structure", "education and employment", "tax and revenue disparity", "racial and socioeconomic disparity", "environmental quality" and "transportation".

48. See Busquets, J., 1985 for the case of Barcelona. Examples in America may be found in the quoted cities of Cleveland (see note 45), or in the post-Moses New York (see Fainstein, N. I., 1987)

49. See Rider, R. W. (1978) and Bandarin, F. (1980)

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